

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem

Bölcsészettudományi Kar

## DOKTORI DISSZERTÁCIÓ

Kiss Mónika

### *Changes in the Iconography of Fugen Enmei Bosatsu*

**Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola,**

Dr. Tolcsvai Nagy Gábor a Doktori Iskola vezetője

**Japán filológia doktori program,**

Dr. Bartos Huba a program vezetője

**A bizottság tagjai és tud. fokozatuk:**

Dr. Hamar Imre DSc, egyetemi tanár

Dr. Meri Arichi, PhD, senior teaching fellow at SOAS

Dr. Pap Melinda, PhD, egyetemi adjunktus

Dr. Mecsi Beatrix, PhD, habil. egyetemi docens

Dr. Papp Melinda, PhD, egyetemi adjunktus

Dr. Farkas Ildikó Mária, PhD, egyetemi docens (KRE)

Dr. Hidas Gergely, PhD

**Témavezető és tud. fokozata:**

Dr. Yamaji Masanori CSc, nyug. egyetemi docens

Budapest, 2018

**ADATLAP**  
**a doktori értekezés nyilvánosságra hozatalához**

**I. A doktori értekezés adatai**

A szerző neve: **Kiss Mónika**.....  
MTMT-azonosító: **10052256** .....  
A doktori értekezés címe és alcíme: **Changes in the Iconography of Fugen Enmei Bosatsu.**  
DOI-azonosító: **10.15476/ELTE.2018.024**.....  
A doktori iskola neve: **Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola**.....  
A doktori iskolán belüli doktori program neve: **Japán filológia doktori program**.....  
A témavezető neve és tudományos fokozata: **Dr. Yamaji Masanori CSc, nyug. egy. docens.**  
A témavezető munkahelye: .....

**II. Nyilatkozatok**

**1. A doktori értekezés szerzőjeként**

a) hozzájárulok, hogy a doktori fokozat megszerzését követően a doktori értekezésem és a tézisek nyilvánosságra kerüljenek az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban. Felhatalmazom az ELTE BTK Doktori és Tudományszervezési Hivatal ügyintézőjét, Hévő Pétert, hogy az értekezést és a téziseket feltöltse az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárba, és ennek során kitöltse a feltöltéshez szükséges nyilatkozatokat.

b) kérem, hogy a mellékelt kérelemben részletezett szabadalmi, illetőleg oltalmi bejelentés közzétételéig a doktori értekezést ne bocsássák nyilvánosságra az Egyetemi Könyvtárban és az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban;

c) kérem, hogy a nemzetbiztonsági okból minősített adatot tartalmazó doktori értekezést a minősítés (dátum)-ig tartó időtartama alatt ne bocsássák nyilvánosságra az Egyetemi Könyvtárban és az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban;

d) kérem, hogy a mű kiadására vonatkozó mellékelt kiadó szerződésre tekintettel a doktori értekezést a könyv megjelenéséig ne bocsássák nyilvánosságra az Egyetemi Könyvtárban, és az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban csak a könyv bibliográfiai adatait tegyék közzé. Ha a könyv a fokozatszerzést követően egy évig nem jelenik meg, hozzájárulok, hogy a doktori értekezésem és a tézisek nyilvánosságra kerüljenek az Egyetemi Könyvtárban és az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárban.


**2. A doktori értekezés szerzőjeként kijelentem, hogy**

a) az ELTE Digitális Intézményi Tudástárba feltöltendő doktori értekezés és a tézisek saját eredeti, önálló szellemi munkám és legjobb tudomásom szerint nem sértem vele senki szerzői jogait;

b) a doktori értekezés és a tézisek nyomtatott változatai és az elektronikus adathordozón benyújtott tartalmak (szöveg és ábrák) mindenben megegyeznek.

**3. A doktori értekezés szerzőjeként hozzájárulok a doktori értekezés és a tézisek szövegének Plágiumkereső adatbázisba helyezéséhez és plágiumellenőrző vizsgálatok lefuttatásához.**

Kelt: Budapest, 2018.02.23.

  
a doktori értekezés szerzőjének aláírása



# Contents

Abstract.....	5
Acknowledgement .....	6
Abbreviations.....	8
List of Figures and Tables .....	9
I. Introduction .....	13
I.1. Iconography and Buddhist Art.....	16
I.3. Sources and Surviving Images of Fugen Enmei.....	22
I.4. Previous Research of Fugen Enmei.....	24
II. The Background.....	33
II.1. Problematic Definition(s) and Indian Beginnings .....	34
II.2. Esoteric Doctrines in China.....	41
II.4. The Art of Esoteric Buddhism .....	56
II.4.1. Indian Buddhist Art and the First Esoteric Depictions .....	57
II.4.2. Chinese Buddhist Art: The Spread and Transformations of Esoteric Images .....	69
II.4.3. Esoteric Images in Japan – The 7 <sup>th</sup> and 8 <sup>th</sup> Centuries.....	81
II.4.4. Systematized Esotericism and its Art in Japan from the 9 <sup>th</sup> Century .....	86
III. The Scriptures.....	90
III.1. The Texts in Esoteric Context .....	91
III.1.1. The Scriptures in China .....	94
III.1.2. The Scriptures in Japan .....	98
III.1.3. The Translator(s).....	103
III.1.4. <i>Zōmitsu</i> or <i>Junmitsu</i> ? .....	108
III.2. The Adamantine Life-Span Scriptures .....	110
III.2.1. Introduction of the Sermon in the <i>Adamantine Life-span</i> Texts.....	110
III.2.2. The Subjugation of Maheśvara .....	112
III.2.3. The Benefits of the Texts.....	116
III.2.4. Visualisation Practices in the <i>Nenju hō</i> and <i>Kyō hō</i> Texts .....	117
III.2.5. <i>Homa</i> Ritual .....	118
III.2.6. Postscripts in the <i>Kyō hō</i> and <i>Darani kyō</i> Texts .....	119
III.3. The <i>Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō</i> Text .....	119
III.4. The Fugen Enmei <i>Sūtra</i> .....	121
IV. The Images .....	127
IV.1. Samantabhadra as the Basis of the Iconography .....	129
IV.1.1. Indian Examples of the Samantabhadra Image.....	133
IV.1.2. Samantabhadra Images in China.....	135

IV.1.3. The Fugen Enmei Image in China.....	144
IV.2. Fugen Enmei in Japan.....	146
IV.2.1. The Canonical Iconography of Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva .....	153
IV.2.2. Problems with the Iconography: The Number of Arms and Elephants .....	156
IV.3. The Extant Images .....	162
IV.4. The Two-Armed Iconography .....	165
IV.4.1. Basic Types of the Two-Armed Image .....	165
IV.4.2. Images with Three Elephants in Tōmitsu Iconography Compilations .....	174
IV.4.3. Two-Armed Images with Shitennō Figures .....	176
IV.4.4. The Mandala Images .....	182
IV.4.5. The Mandala Bosatsu Outside the Mandala .....	185
IV.4.6. Enmei Bosatsu Images.....	192
IV.5. The Twenty-Armed Iconography .....	197
IV.5.1. Daianraku Bosatsu and the Attributes of the Twenty Arms .....	199
IV.5.2. Basic Types of the Twenty-Armed Image.....	205
IV.5.3. Vajrabodhi's Oral Transmission.....	206
IV.5.4. First Images with the Shitennō Figures .....	209
IV.5.5. The Daigoji Image and Its Dissemination.....	212
IV.5.6. Other Variations in the Twenty-Armed Iconography.....	219
IV.5.7. The Ryūjōin Type and Its Edo Period Survival.....	220
IV.5.8. The Ninnaji Type All Around the World .....	223
IV.5.9. The Four-Headed Elephant Type Images.....	225
IV.5.10. The Iconography of Statues .....	229
V. The Rituals .....	232
V.1. Enmei, Fugen Enmei, Nyohō Enmei, and Jumyō kyō Rituals.....	233
V.1.1. The Rituals in the Japanese esoteric Scene .....	235
V.1.2. Function, Prevalence and Circumstances .....	237
V.2. The Rituals and the Tōmitsu-Taimitsu Context .....	240
V.2.1. Ritual Platforms of the Fugen Enmei Ritual .....	243
V.2.2. <i>Homa</i> Rituals and the Adamantine Life-span Scriptures .....	244
V.3. Enmei and Fugen Enmei in Other Rituals .....	249
V.3.1. Enmei hō in the Miyo no hajime sandan mishuhō .....	249
V.3.2. Fugen Enmei in the Nyohō sonshō hō.....	250
V.4. The Fugen Enmeihō Today .....	252
VI. Concluding Remarks .....	253
VI.1. Future Research Prospects .....	256
Appendix A .....	257

<b>Appendix B .....</b>	<b>263</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>279</b>
<b>Collections and Reference Works .....</b>	<b>279</b>
<b>Primary Sources .....</b>	<b>281</b>
<b>Secondary Bibliography .....</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>Digital Sources .....</b>	<b>295</b>
<b>Plates.....</b>	<b>296</b>
<b>List of Plates.....</b>	<b>296</b>
<b>Paintings and Drawings .....</b>	<b>299</b>
<b>Statues .....</b>	<b>327</b>

# Abstract

Among the countless esoteric deities there are still numerous, which have not yet been thoroughly investigated. One of them is Fugen Enmei bosatsu. As the *honzon* of an important, and long standing ritual, the Fugen Enmei hō, it is surprising that this bodhisattva and its images were neglected so far. This Buddhist deity entered the Japanese esoteric scene in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and became a major deity for the imperial family and other members of the ruling classes from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onward. Emperors, aristocrats, even shoguns turned to his healing and longevity powers in time of indisposition. Even today, the Fugen Enmei hō is performed every four years at Hieizan, one of the major esoteric centres in Japan.

Who is Fugen Enmei? Where does he come from? These questions can be answered by examining the many surviving sources of monks belonging to the Tōmitsu (Shingon) and Taimitsu (Tendai) traditions of Japanese esoteric Buddhism. Regarding the deity's images, the main problem lies in the two different ways he is depicted. Although the roots of this distinction is not clear, and requires more research in China, but we now know when, and by whom they were introduced to Japan. Attributing teachings and images to one of the legendary individuals of Japanese Buddhism, such as Kūkai or Saichō, is – and has always been – common practise in Japan. In our case, however, the tie of one of the iconographies to the founder of the Shingon school can be proven by written and visual sources as well. The connection with one of the founders of the esoteric tradition of the Tendai school in Japan, namely Ennin, also becomes evident according to surviving documents of monks.

This dissertation aims to give a comprehensive view of Fugen Enmei bodhisattva, its origins and images. The main focus is on the various iconographies, their dissemination, and survival. First, I take a look at the historical and artistic background of the esoteric teachings and images, then I examine the basic Buddhist texts related to the bodhisattva and its ritual. Next, the iconographic types and lineages are studied through their respective visual and written sources. Finally, I briefly summarize in what ritualistic context these images were used.

## Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisers Yamaji Masanori 山地征典 of ELTE University in Budapest, Robert F. Rhodes, and Saitō Nozomu 齋藤望 of Ōtani University 大谷大学 in Kyoto, for their advices and ceaseless belief in me and my research. It was Saitō sensei, whom I am indebted for sharing his knowledge about Japanese Buddhist art, and also for making it possible for me to have first-hand experience in examining artworks.

This dissertation could not have been what it has become were it not for the support of the *Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai* 仏教伝道協会, and the confidence they had in me when I was chosen as their fellow in 2014. I am very grateful for Director Ikuta Tadashi 生田忠士, for his warm welcome at the BDK, and also Eguchi Kaoru 江口郁, who helped me with all the fellowship matters. I am also indebted to the Komatsu Chiko Foundation, for its financial support with which I could also do research in Japan.

Special thanks is owed to Professors Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝, retired President of Tsurumi University 鶴見大学, and Imre Hamar, Vice Rector of ELTE University, for their help and support throughout the research and writing process. I am likewise grateful to the President of Ōtani University, Kigoshi Yasushi 木越康, for repeatedly letting me conduct short time researches at the university, and the staff of the university, such as Takigami Yōko 瀧上陽子, and Kanda Tomoe 神田友恵, for all their administrative help.

I have benefitted immensely from the assistance of museums and temples in Japan and around the world. I would like to thank Alfred Haft of the British Museum, Hélène Bayou of the Musée national des arts asiatiques - Guimet for letting me examine paintings; Kathrin Hörnemann of the Langen Foundation, and Audrey Culp of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, for kindly giving information about the respective images. I am furthermore grateful to the Daigoji temple 醍醐寺 and Nagase Toshio 長瀬福男; the Ninnaji temple 仁和寺 and Asakawa Miyuki 朝川美幸; the Enryakuji temple 延暦寺 and Ushiro Takafumi 宇代貴文; the Keishōji temple 継松寺 and Kashiwagi Bunyū 柏本文雄; the Ryūjōin temple 龍乗院, the Kōchi Prefectural Museum of History 高知建立歴史民俗資料館 and Soga

Michiko 曾我満子; and finally the Tateyama Municipal Museum 館山市立博物館 and Miyasaka Arata 宮坂新, who generously devoted their time to me.

Heartfelt thanks are due to all people, who helped me along the way: Beatrix Mecsi, Gábor Kósa, Gyula Wojtilla, and my colleagues at the Japanese Department of ELTE University; Meri Arichi of SOAS; Terashima Norihito 寺島典人 of the Ōtsu Museum of History 大津歴史博物館; Masuki Ryūsuke 増記隆介 and Carmen Tamas of Kobe University 神戸大学; Taniguchi Kōsei 谷口耕生 of Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館; Ajima Noriaki 安島紀昭 of Hiroshima University 広島大学; Shimoda Masahiro 下田正弘 of Tokyo University 東京大学; Yamabe Susumu 山辺進 of Nishōgakusha University 二松学舎大学; and also Dorothy Wong, Michael Conway, Gergely Hidas, Zsóka Gelle, Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美, and Nagasaka Satoshi 永坂哲 of Tsurumi University.

*I am especially grateful to my dearest Balázs, my family and friends for their patience, support, and for believing in me in the past years.*

## Abbreviations

Ch.	Chinese
DCBT	<i>A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms</i>
DDZ	<i>Dengyō daishi zenshū</i> 伝教大師全集
DNBZ	<i>Dai nihon bukkyō zensho</i> 大日本仏教全書
DNKK	<i>Dai nihon kokiroku</i> 大日本古記録
DNKM	<i>Dai nihon komonjo</i> 大日本古文書
DNS	<i>Dai nihon shiryō</i> 大日本史料
FHM	<i>Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts</i>
GR	<i>Gunsho ruijū</i> 群書類従
IBK	<i>Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū</i> 印度学仏教学研究
ICP	Important Cultural Property (Jp. <i>jūyō bunkazai</i> 重要文化財) designation
Jp.	Japanese
KDZ	<i>Kōbō daishi zenshū</i> 弘法大師全集
KNM	Kyoto National Museum 京都国立博物館
MH	<i>Dai Kan-Wa jiten</i> 大漢和辞典 (Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋徹次)
MDJ	<i>Mikkyō daijiten</i> 密教大辞典
MBDJ	<i>Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten</i> 望月仏教大辞典
NDL	National Diet Library
NNM	Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館
NT	National Treasure (Jp. <i>kokuhō</i> 国宝) designation
NTSN	<i>Nihon Tendai shū nenpyō</i> 日本天台宗年表
PDB	<i>The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism</i>
Sk.	Sanskrit
SNKK	<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i> 続日本後紀
SSN	<i>Shingon shū nenpyō</i> 真言宗年表
T	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新修大藏經
TNM	Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館
TZ	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō</i> 大正新修大藏經圖像
YB	Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館
ZGR	<i>Zoku gunsho ruijū</i> 続群書類従
ZZGR	<i>Zoku zoku gunsho ruijū</i> 続々群書類従

# List of Figures and Tables

## Chapter I. Introduction

Table 1. Exhibitions with Fugen Enmei images

## Chapter II. The Background

- Figure 1. Standing Buddha statue, Jamālpur, Mathurā, mid-5<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 2. Buddha seated in *dharmacakra mudrā*, Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth, ca. 475
- Figure 3. Standing bodhisattva, Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth, ca. 475
- Figure 4. Standing buddha in *abhaya mudrā*, Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth, ca. 475
- Figure 5. Vajrapāṇi, Sāñcī, early 5<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 6. Entrance of Cave 19, Ajaṇṭā, 5<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 7. Bodhisattva, mural in Cave 1, Ajaṇṭā, ca. 477
- Figure 8. Bodhisattva, mural in Cave 1, Ajaṇṭā, ca. 477
- Figure 9. Side panel on wall, Cave 90, Kānheri, ca. 500
- Figure 10. Buddha and Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 41, Kānheri, early 6<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 11. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, detail, Cave 41, Kānheri, early 6<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 12. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, Ajaṇṭā, late 5<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 13. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, Kānheri, early 6<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 14. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, Aurangabad, late 6<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 15. Nine-square diagram panel, Cave 12, Ellora, 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries
- Figure 16. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with four arms, Udayagiri, Orissa, late 9<sup>th</sup>-early 10<sup>th</sup> centuries
- Figure 17. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 334, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 18. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 321, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 8<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 19. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 76, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 11<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 20. Six-Armed Amoghapāṣa Avalokiteśvara, Cave 384, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 9<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 21. Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 148, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 8<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 22. Silk painting from the Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, in BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.35), 9<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 23. Hayagrīva Avalokiteśvara, Anguosi, Changan, 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries
- Figure 24. Avalokiteśvara banner on hemp and its inscription, BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.149), d.u.
- Figure 25. Avalokiteśvara banner, detail, BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.149), d.u.
- Figure 26. Avalokiteśvara with flask on hemp, BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.201), late 9<sup>th</sup>-early 10<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 27. Avalokiteśvara with staff on silk, Musée Guimet (Acq. nr. EO 1143), d.u.
- Figure 28. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, TNM, 665?
- Figure 29. Nine-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Hōryūji temple, 719
- Figure 30. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara mural, Hōryūji temple, late 7<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 31. Thousand-Armed, Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Tōshōdaiji temple, Nara, late 8<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 32. Thousand-Armed, Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Hosshōji temple, Kyoto, ca.934
- Figure 33. Amoghapāṣa Avalokiteśvara, Sangetsudō, Tōdaiji temple, Nara, 8<sup>th</sup> century



- Figure 34. Adamantine world *maṇḍala*, Tōji temple, Kyoto, 9th century (NT)  
 Figure 35. Womb world *maṇḍala*, Tōji temple, Kyoto, 9th century (NT)  
 Figure 36. *Maṇḍala of the Honoured One Victory*, NNM (Acq. nr. 1107-0), 13th century (ICP)

### Chapter III. The Scriptures

- Figure 37. Amulet from Dunhuang, BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.247), 11th century  
 Figure 38. *Nittō hakke* lineages with Chinese masters  
 Figure 39. Trailokyavijaya sculpture, Tōji temple, 9th century (NT)  
 Figure 40. Trailokyavijaya drawing. From *Zuzōshō*

### Chapter IV. The Images

- Figure 41. Samantabhadra, Bujōji temple, 12th century (NT)  
 Figure 42. Samantabhadra, NNM (Acq. nr. 1009-0), 12th century (ICP)  
 Figure 43. Samantabhadra, TNM (Acq. nr. A1), 12th century (NT)  
 Figure 44. Ratnasambhava Buddha and Samantabhadra Bodhisattva with a sword, Stūpa I, Udayagiri, Orissa, India, 10th century  
 Figure 45. Riders on an Elephant sculpture, Cave 165, Northern Caves, late 6th century  
 Figure 46. Riders on an Elephant mural, Cave 375, Northern Caves, 7th century  
 Figure 47. Riders on an Elephant mural, Cave 329, Mogao Caves, late 7th century  
 Figure 48. Bodhisattva sitting on an elephant, Shotorak monastery near Begram, 4th-5th centuries  
 Figure 49. Bodhisattva sitting on an elephant 1, Cave 13, Yungang, 6th century  
 Figure 50. Bodhisattva sitting on an elephant 2, Cave 13, Yungang, 6th century  
 Figure 51. Samantabhadra, Cave 148, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 775  
 Figure 52. Samantabhadra, Cave 159, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, early 9th century  
 Figure 53. Samantabhadra, Cave 172, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 8th century  
 Figure 54. Samantabhadra, Cave 196, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, late 9th century  
 Figure 55. Samantabhadra, silk painting from the Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, BM (Acq. nr.: 1919, 0101, 0.131), 8th-9th centuries  
 Figure 56. Samantabhadra, silk painting from the Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, BM (Acq. nr.: 1919, 0101, 0.5), 864  
 Figure 57. Five pronged vajra and vajra bell  
 Figures 58. Womb world *maṇḍala*, Tōji temple, Kyoto, 9th century (The Henchiin section highlighted.)  
 Figure 59. Womb world *maṇḍala*, detail (Vajramoghasamayāsattva highlighted.)  
 Figure 60. Indra (Taishakuten) statue on elephant, Tōji, Kyoto, 9th century  
 Figure 61. Indra as one of the Twelve devas (Jūniten), Kyoto National Museum, 12th century  
 Figure 62. Indra riding Airavata, Vat Phou, Laos, 11th-13th centuries  
 Figure 63. Indra riding Airavata, Banteay Srei, Cambodia, 10th century  
 Figure 64. Shinkaku's Ono and Hirosawa lineages  
 Figure 65. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Besson zakki*  
 Figure 66. Yama, Daigoji temple, 12th century (NT)  
 Figure 67. Yama, detail, Daigoji temple, 12th century (NT)  
 Figure 68. Cintāmanicakra Avalokiteśvara, detail, NNM (Acq. nr. 1273-0), 14th century (ICP)  
 Figure 69. Ākāśagarbha, detail, NNM (Acq. nr. 1108-0), 14th century (ICP)  
 Figure 70. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō*

- Figure 71. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō*
- Figure 72. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō: Ishiyamadera shozō Jikkanshō* (1988.)
- Figure 73. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Sho Monju zuzō*
- Figure 74. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Kakuzenshō*
- Figure 75. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Kakuzenshō*
- Figure 76. Cundī Avalokiteśvara, TNM (Acq. nr. A11796), 12<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)
- Figure 77. Fugen Enmei bosatsu, detail, Boston MFA (Acq. nr. 11.4036), 12<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 78. Cundī Avalokiteśvara, detail, TNM (Acq. nr. A11796), 12<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)
- Figure 79. Fugen Enmei mandala. From *Besson zakki* of Shinkaku (Ninnaji)
- Figure 80. Fugen Enmei mandala. From *Shoson zuzō* (Tōji Kanchiin)
- Figure 81. Fugen Enmei mandala. From *Shoson zuzō* (MOA)
- Figure 82. Plan of the Fugen Enmei Mandala. From *Gyōrinshō*
- Figure 83. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shoson zuzō* (Tōji Kanchiin)
- Figure 84. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shoson zuzō* (MOA)
- Figure 85. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shikashō zuzō* (Daigoji)
- Figure 86. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Sho Monju zuzō* (Daigoji)
- Figure 87. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Zuzōshō*
- Figure 88. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Besson zakki*
- Figure 89. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Kakuzenshō*
- Figure 90. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Kakuzenshō*
- Figure 91. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Asabashō*
- Figure 92. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Asabashō*
- Figure 93. The ritual sphere set-up at Kakujin's initial Fugen Enmei ritual in 1075. From *Asabashō*
- Figure 94. The ritual sphere set-up of the second ritual with Kakujin in 1080. From *Kakuzenshō*
- Figure 95. The sixteen great bodhisattvas with their attributes
- Figure 96. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shikashō zuzō* (Daigoji)
- Figure 97. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shoson zuzō* (NDL)
- Figure 98. Fugen Enmei bosatsu drawing in the *Shishu goma zuzō* (Daigoji)
- Figure 99. Fugen Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Besson zakki*
- Figure 100. Fugen Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Sho Monju zuzō*
- Figure 101. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō*
- Figure 102. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō*
- Figure 103. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō: Ishiyamadera shozō Jikkanshō* (1988.)
- Figure 104. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shoson zuzōshō* (NDL)
- Figure 105. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Kakuzenshō*
- Figure 106. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Kakuzenshō*
- Figure 107. Twenty-armed Enmei. From *Shoson zuzō* (Daigoji)
- Figure 108. Mahāvairocana of the *Mandala of the One-Syllable Golden Wheel*, detail, NNM (Acq. nr. 947-0), 12<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)
- Figure 109. Mahāvairocana of the *Mandala of the One-Syllable Golden Wheel*, detail, TNM (Acq. nr. A10601), 13<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 110. Fugen Enmei drawing in Tosa Hidenobu's *Butsuzō zui*. From *Kinmō butsuzō shūsei*
- Figure 111. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara painting, NNM (Acq. nr. 1337-0), 14<sup>th</sup> century
- Figure 112. Detail from the *Issai kyō*, Chūsonji, 12<sup>th</sup> century (NT)

Table 2. Samantabhadra Images in the Mogao Grottoes

Table 3. The two-armed image types

Table 4. Fugen Enmei ritual *honrons* in the *Mon'yōki*

Table 5. The Sixteen great bodhisattvas and the four gate-keepers

Table 6. The Four Guardian bodhisattvas

Table 7. The Four Pāramitā bodhisattvas

Table 8. The twenty-armed image types

Table 9. The Ryūjōin, Ninnaji and *Butsuzō zui* variants of the twenty-armed image

## **Chapter V. The Rituals**

Figure 113. Ritual platform set-up for a Fugen Enmei hō. From *Asabashō*

Figure 114. Gyōgen's ritual platform set-up for a Fugen Enmei hō in the Shirakawa Eastern Palace in 1139. From *Mon'yōki*

Figure 115. Homa altar drawing. From *Kakuzenshō*

Figure 116. Homa altar drawing. From *Asabashō*

Figure 117. Homa altar drawing. From *Mon'yōki*

# I. Introduction

The idea of longevity in Buddhism first outraged one of the pioneers of Buddhist studies, Friedrich Max Müller. He was surprised that *a prayer for a long life, addressed to Buddha, who taught that deliverance from life was the greatest of all blessings*<sup>1</sup> can be among the Buddhist teachings. In the midst of the numerous rituals that were performed for gaining various worldly or spiritual benefits some are related to the notion of longevity. One of them is the ritual with Fugen Enmei bodhisattva as the principal object of worship (Jp. *honzon* 本尊). In and outside of Japan, there are many extant images of this bodhisattva dating from the late Heian period to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During the many centuries multiple iconographical types emerged, which is not unheard of in the case of Buddhist art, but the confusion they caused is not at all common.

My first encounter with the image of Fugen Enmei bosatsu 普賢延命菩薩, or Samatabhadra Bodhisattva of Long Life (Sk. Samantabhadrāyū), was at the time when I was writing my Japanese studies master's thesis in the Summer and Autumn of 2011. In the collection of the *Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts* (hereafter cited as FHM), where I was researching the Japanese Buddhist paintings and statues, I happened on a statue of the bodhisattva in a small lacquered portable shrine, called *zushi* 厨子 (Plate 66). I soon found out that it has a special iconography. Basically there are two main versions to his images: a sūtra explanation from the *Sūtra of the Most Victorious Adamantine Dhāraṇī of Samatabhadra Bodhisattva of Long Life, Empowered by the Light of the Minds of All Buddhas, Preached by the Buddha* (Jp. *Bussetsu issai nyorai shin kōmyō kaji Fugen bosatsu enmei saishō kongō darani kyō* 仏説一切如来心光明加持普賢菩薩延命最勝金剛陀羅尼經, hereafter cited as *Fugen Enmei kyō*), attributed to Amoghavajra's (Ch. Bukong, Jp. Fukū 不空,<sup>2</sup> 705-774); and another concept, the oral tradition of Amoghavajra's master, Vajrabodhi (Ch. Jin'gangzhi, Jp. Kongōchi 金剛智, 671-741). These representations were debated by the monks belonging to the esoteric traditions, the Tōmitsu 東密 (Shingon

---

<sup>1</sup> Müller – Nanjio 1884: 31.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes he was also called Fukū kongō 不空・不空金剛, or Chizō 智藏.

school 真言宗) and Taimitsu 台密 (Tendai school 天台宗<sup>3</sup>), as early as the Heian period (794-1192). Books about Buddhist iconography still list two types the Fugen Enmei image today, although in the Edo period, there appeared a third, a mixed version of those two.

The iconographical confusion of the images has never been researched extensively by Western or Japanese scholars, art historians. On the one hand, this should not come as too much of a surprise, if we take into account the endless number of deities in the esoteric Buddhist pantheon. On the other hand, however, the Fugen Enmei ritual (Jp. Fugen Enmei hō 普賢延命法) has a long history in Japanese Buddhism and culture: it has been being performed since the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when the first surviving record of an Enmei ritual (Jp. Enmei hō 延命法) dates back to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it becomes evident from the sources that the rituals played important roles in the lives of the members of the imperial family. The Enmei hō was performed as part of three rituals at the inauguration of new emperors since the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Fugen Enmei ritual was executed customarily when an emperor was indisposed. In addition, both of these rituals were performed couple of months before the births of the imperial princes and princesses. Fortunately, sufficient amount of sources survive from the Heian period onwards, which record the circumstances and conditions of these rituals. Most records are short, merely listing essential information, but sometimes we come across fully detailed descriptions. Looking at their importance and the sufficient amount of available sources, one would reckon there have been plenty of studies examining these rituals, however, scholars have been neglecting them so far.

Furthermore, I also discovered some inscriptions, records of the images themselves, written either by monks returning from China or the priest-painters (Jp. *ebusshi* 絵仏師) of temples, all of which help in resolving the issue of when the image was first imported to Japan, or what seems to be the earliest record of ever being produced there. Some of the detailed descriptions of the rituals also contain information about the *honzon*, identifying

---

<sup>3</sup> The Tendai was never an exclusively esoteric school, it only partially examined and practiced the esoteric *dharma*. Therefore, the esoteric teachings of the Tendai school are commonly designated by the name *Tendai esoterism* or *taimitsu* 台密 in Japanese.

<sup>4</sup> The Enmeihō and Fugen Enmeihō rituals were only distinguished from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. We do not know what the Enmei ritual looked like before the Fugen Enmei ritual appeared, since no detailed descriptions survive of the early examples, only short mentions of the rituals.

which iconography was used. These entries take us closer to tracing and understanding the different iconographic variations.

During the course of my four-year research many problems were revealed regarding the bodhisattva, its image and ritual. I decided that in the current dissertation, aiming for an all-encompassing comprehension, I show how the iconographical types evolved, by first clarifying the textual basis of the original iconography. Then, as the main focus of my research, I am introducing the lineages of the iconography according to types, using the written and visual sources. Lastly, I am briefly presenting the several diverse roles and functions of the rituals. The comparison of the writings of the two Japanese esoteric Buddhist schools can shed light to not just the understanding and usage of esoteric rituals in the course of Japanese Buddhism, but also to the complex relationship that existed between the esoteric sects and the ruling class, like the imperial family, the aristocrats, or the *shōgunate* (Jp. *bakufu* 幕府), in the course of Japanese history.

The examinations of the related sūtras, writings, and the images themselves, and how they were perceived by the monks of these two esoteric schools are unprecedented, just as the number of images – paintings, statues, and iconographical drawings included – being analysed in this dissertation, to give an overall picture of the traditions and styles of the bodhisattva's portrayal in Japanese Buddhist art, which is still lacking the description and deciphering of various esoteric deities.

The problem of the confusion of the different types of Fugen Enmei images has been pointed out by some Japanese scholars, when introducing individual images, but erroneous views keep floating around in exhibition catalogues, whenever an image of the bodhisattva is displayed. This can be due to the fact that most catalogues are written by other than experts of esoteric Buddhist art. I am now endeavouring on resolving these common mistakes.

## I.1. Iconography and Buddhist Art

The function and place of iconography has been considerably debated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Panofsky's earlier definition sees iconography as a branch of art history which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form.<sup>5</sup>

Louis Réau argues that it is an individual science, related to archaeology and art history, and explains it not being limited to the mere description of artworks, but also aspiring to classify and interpret them.<sup>6</sup> Paired with art history, we get the full analysis of an artwork: art history inspects the form and manner, iconography complements the subject. In this way, the examination of the Fugen Enmei image is complete. I am delineating the two types with the help of iconography and give a stylistic or art historic consideration of the artworks, when necessary.

Older scholars of iconography failed in delimiting it to rigorous rules when they comprehended it as the codification of religious art.<sup>7</sup> Thus they condemned any kind of reform of sacred subjects. Nevertheless, the evolution of art and thought could not be stopped, as we will see in the development of a third type Fugen Enmei image.

Réau also reminds us that iconography is used for identification, and determination of place and time. It is unavoidable for identification when it comes to religious art with anthropomorphic forms, since, artworks are not just combinations of shapes, surfaces and colours, but also illustrations of thoughts.<sup>8</sup> Especially in the case of Christian and Buddhist art where the pantheon of saints and divinities is so enormous that ignorance of the exact symbolism gives way to misinterpretation of the form. In the case of Fugen Enmei bosatsu this is particularly true. There have been many occasions when the deity was simply designated as Samantabhadra, due to the presence of the white elephant, though the different attributes or number of arms were not taken into consideration.<sup>9</sup> Even today, those Japanese Buddhist temples which are not of esoteric denomination, but are in possession of a Fugen

---

<sup>5</sup> Panofsky 1955: 1.

<sup>6</sup> Réau 1955: 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

<sup>9</sup> This happened with the *zushi* image in the Budapest museum. In the initial museum records it was designated as Samantabhadra and was later corrected when Japanese experts took a look at the collection in 1994.

Enmei image, may not know – or will eventually find out – about this misapprehension. Accordingly, this also implies that there may be still undiscovered Fugen Enmei images in Japanese temples and foreign art collections.

Iconography is again useful for the determination where and when the artwork was made. In the case of Buddhist art, specific objects, patterns, or ornaments can help us narrow down the time and place. Unfortunately, Japanese Buddhist images – particularly those of individual deities – prove to be a much more challenging case, since Buddhist artists dutifully followed the prescribed features, and without a narrative scene, it comes down to the smaller details when examined. Such details are the motifs of garments, or the application of specific ornaments like the flaming jewel, etc.

Buddhist iconography (Jp. *bukkyō zuzō* 仏教図像) shares the same beginnings as any other religions: the need to depict, to show the faithful the deities they worship. Then, these depictions were passed down inside a group which consisted of believers of the same deities or teachings. This heritage usually tried to define the principal deities and their images, the circumstances and external appearances, as unmistakably as possible, distinguishing them from the ordinary people, hence emphasizing their sacred character.

The Japanese word *zuzō* 図像, although translated as *iconography*, in Japan originally had another meaning, since it was first used to distinguish the ink drawings of Buddhist deities and mandalas. Nevertheless, this designation only appears in the mid- and late-Heian periods, it is not used in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the many Japanese monks brought back this kind of drawings from Tang China.<sup>10</sup>

The iconography was secret, just like the *dharma*, and it was the masters' job to give the disciples initiation into both. The lineages that developed in the two esoteric schools of Japan, can be of help, when we try to trace back a specific image. The initiation was usually into the Two world mandalas (Jp. Ryōbu mandara 両部曼荼羅), the bases for many individual depictions as well. However, in Eastern Asia, many individual images evolved outside these mandalas, like both types of the Fugen Enmei image. These happened

---

<sup>10</sup> We know that Ennin brought back drawings of Buddhist deities – such as Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva –, but in his list of imported treasures, they are only designated with the word *zō* 像 which is translated as 'depiction' or 'image.' (For example T 2167, Vol.55: 1084c02)



sometimes because of the interaction with the local cultural spheres, or it can be also the result of some individuals' inventive spirit.<sup>11</sup>

Our case proves a significant problem concerning the above unfolded theories, which also draws attention to the limitations of viewing iconographies as visual depictions of previously written texts. The twenty-armed image of Fugen Enmei is now proven to be based on an oral tradition, which was written down later in Japan, however, its image became standard in Shingon rituals. This shows that visuality is not necessarily second to written sources. Scholars have started realizing this scheme from the 1980s. James Cahill, for example, writes that *in the newer model (...) illustrations may generate a new version of the text*.<sup>12</sup>

## I.2. Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva

Fugen Enmei bosatsu is usually defined as the esoteric form of Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩, All-Pervading Samantabhadra, the bodhisattva of universal virtue. It is often repeated that Fugen is one of the eight great bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna tradition (the Wisdom bodhisattvas, Sk. Dhyānibodhisattva), the protectors of the Lotus scripture. He is regularly depicted with the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Jp. Monju bosatsu 文殊菩薩) on the side of Śākyamuni (Jp. Shakamuni 釈迦牟尼) in the so-called Śākyamuni triad (Jp. Shaka sanzō 釈迦三尊) images. Samantabhadra appears in the 28<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Lotus sūtra, one of the core scriptures of the Buddhist tradition.

---

<sup>11</sup> The latter may have been the case with the third type of the Fugen Enmei images, which appeared in the Edo period 江戸時代 (1603-1868), several centuries after the deity and its images were introduced into the Japanese Buddhist milieu in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. It was included in an extended version of an iconographic manual of Buddhist deities. The editor of this second edition was Tosa Hidenobu 土佐秀信 (d.u.) in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Although Fugen Enmei was not included in the original 1690 edition of this manual, Hidenobu introduced a type, which had not been in use before, only during the Edo period.

<sup>12</sup> Cahill 1983: 1-2. For more see Sharf 2001.

Fugen is present in all great Buddhist traditions, Indian, Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, etc. Although his depictions are not rare in Indian Buddhist art, it was decidedly in China and Japan that the bodhisattva became popular. In the esoteric tradition, Fugen appears in one of the core scriptures, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (Ch. *Jingangding jing*, Jp. *Kongōchō kyō* 金剛頂經, hereafter cited as *STTS*), where his birth as an esoteric bodhisattva is also included:

以普賢性於金剛薩埵三摩地妙堅牢故合爲一體從是出生普賢大菩薩身  
安住世尊大毘盧遮那如來心說此頌曰

大哉清淨我普賢 堅固薩埵自然生  
由彼堅固本無身 金剛薩埵身出現  
爾時普賢大菩薩身從世尊心下於一切如來前月輪中如理而住復請教示<sup>13</sup>

*Out of the vajrasattva concentration, because it is exceedingly firm and entirely good, formed a uniquely hard body in the form of Samantabhadra. Then, having assumed its place in the heart of Lord Vairocana, it disclosed this pithy verse,*

*Aho! I am Samantabhadra, the hard being of those self-originated.*

*For, even though bodiless from my hard nature,*

*I have attained the body of a being.*

*So now the body of Samantabhadra, the great bodhisattva, descends from the heart of Vairocana and appears seated on a lunar disk in front of all the Tathagatas, requesting their command.*<sup>14</sup>

Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研, the most renowned – and most productive – Japanese Buddhist art expert in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, writes in his fundamental book about Buddhist sculpture and iconography, the *Butsuzō zuten* 仏像図典, that Fugen Enmei is actually Samantabhadra residing in the *samādhi* of benefits and long life (Jp. *zōyaku enmei sanmaji* 增益延命三摩地 or *sanmai* 三昧),<sup>15</sup> who is the same as Vajrāmoghasamayāsattva (Jp. Daianraku fukū shinjitsu bosatsu 大安樂不空真実菩薩) in the Hall of Encompassing Knowledge (Jp. Henchiin 遍智院) of the Womb world mandala (Sk. Garbhakośadhātu maṇḍala, Jp. Taizōkai mandara 胎藏界曼荼羅).<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> T 0882, vol. 18: 342c29 – 343a06.

<sup>14</sup> Translation from Davidson 2002: 148.

<sup>15</sup> *Samādhi* (Jp. *sanmaji* 三摩地 or *sanmai* 三昧, Ch. *sanmodi* or *sanmei*) is a state of meditational consciousness. For more about this see Snellgrove 1987, and Williams 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Sawa 1970: 84.

The usual way to describe him is as the principal deity of the Fugen Enmei ritual. In the Mochizuki encyclopaedia of Buddhism, the *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* 望月仏教大辞典 (hereafter cited as MBDJ) only the ritual has a separate entry, where the iconography of the bosatsu is also mentioned. The Japanese encyclopaedias of esoteric Buddhism, the *Mikkyō jiten* 密教辞典 (hereafter cited as MJ) and the *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辞典 (hereafter cited as MDJ) contain separate entries for the bodhisattva and the rituals.

The origins of the bodhisattva should be clear, however, the different iconographies had the Buddhist monks confused from very early on. Two major problems seem to be the question of the Sanskrit names, and the distinction between Enmei and Fugen Enmei bodhisattvas. As for the Sanskrit names, the problem lies in the association of Fugen Enmei with Vajrāmoghasamayāsattva (Jp. Daianraku fukū sanmaya shinjitsu bosatsu 大安樂不空三昧耶真実菩薩, hereafter cited as Daianraku bosatsu), and based on this association this designation is used for Fugen Enmei as well.<sup>17</sup> However, the latter's name should be given as Samantabhadṛāyuh, as its translation is Samantabhadra of (long) life-span.<sup>18</sup> This designation was first recognised in the MDJ, where the association with Daianraku is also mentioned in such writings as the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 and the *Byakuhō kushō* 白宝口抄, etc.:

*According to the explanation (of the Kakuzenshō, Byakuhō kushō, etc.), there are three names to this bodhisattva, one is Fugen Enmei, another is Vajrāmoghasamayāsattva bodhisattva, and the third is Vajrasattva.<sup>19</sup>*

Of these sources, the previous is from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and the latter was written in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, both by Shingon monks. The quoted associations with Daianraku and Vajrasattva (Jp. Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵) can be traced back to Kūkai 空海 (774-835) himself, the founder of the Japanese Shingon school. In his *Shinjitsu kyō monku* 真実經文句, the commentary of the scripture *Analysis of the principle and intention toward Prajñāpāramitā and the Sūtra on the samaya (coming together) of great bliss, vajra non-emptiness and true reality* (Ch. Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing bore boluomiduo

---

<sup>17</sup> This incorrect use of this bodhisattva's Sanskrit name is still remnant, for example, in the entry of the Fugen Enmei painting on the homepage of the Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館 . URL: <http://www.narahaku.go.jp/english/collection/1175-0.html>

<sup>18</sup> This designation is not an original Sanskrit name, but the translation from the Chinese name.

<sup>19</sup> MDJ vol. 4: 1911.

*liqu shi*, Jp. *Dairaku kongō fukū shinjitsu sanmaya kyō hannya haramitsuta rishū shaku* 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋, hereafter cited as *Rishu kyō*),<sup>20</sup> translated by Amoghavajra, he names the principal bodhisattva as “Dairaku Kongō Fugen Enmei Kongōsatta bosatsu 大樂金剛普賢延命金剛薩埵菩薩.”<sup>21</sup> Then again, by one of his disciples, Jichie 実慧 (786-847), the association is repeated in his *Hinoo kuketsu* 桧尾口訣. Both writings are from the 9<sup>th</sup> century when Fugen Enmei first made his way to Japan.

The question of Enmei and Fugen Enmei is more complex, and the problem mostly derives from the confusing entries in the sources written by Japanese monks during the three centuries of the Heian period. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, he is always mentioned as Fugen Enmei, although the relevant scriptures are grouped under the Enmei ritual label in Annen’s 安然 (841-889?) comprehensive list of the imported Buddhist treasures, the *Sho ajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨眞言密教部類總錄.<sup>22</sup> The 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century sources consist mostly of various diaries of high ranking officials who recorded consecrations and rituals of Enmei bosatsu, but without elaborating it in detail, only the presumption remains that they refer to Fugen Enmei. The first ritual that is called Fugen Enmei appears as late as 1075 in the Tendai sources,<sup>23</sup> and only in 1099 in Shingon sources.<sup>24</sup> We also see that in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when the monks started to truly recognise this bodhisattva and its ritual, the question of the name becomes even more problematical. First it is Enmei who is two-armed, then it is Fugen Enmei. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century two writings of the Shingon monk Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226-1304), the *Usuzōshi kuketsu* 薄草子口訣 and the *Hishō mondō* 秘鈔問答 are the first to distinguish between the bodhisattvas with or without elephants. He says that,

延命不乘象持鈴杵、普賢延命乘象<sup>25</sup>

*Enmei does not ride an elephant and holds a (vajra) bell and vajra, Fugen Enmei rides on elephants*

Among the eleven paintings at the Daigoji temple 醍醐寺, there are many which are called Enmei bosatsu, and all of these images have in common that the bodhisattva have two

<sup>20</sup> T 1003, vol. 19: 607-617.

<sup>21</sup> T 2237, vol. 61: 613b06 – 07.

<sup>22</sup> T 2176, vol. 55: 1121b10 – 26.

<sup>23</sup> NTSN 1973: 59.

<sup>24</sup> SSN 1973: 143.

<sup>25</sup> T 2535, vol. 79: 210c25 – 26.

arms, holding the three- or five-pronged *vajra* sceptre (Jp. *kongōsho* 金剛杵) and the *vajra* bell (Jp. *kongōrei* 金剛鈴, Sk. *ghaṇṭā*), sitting on lotus thrones without elephants. However, these kind of images are easily confused with those of Vajrasattva's, the images are undistinguishable.<sup>26</sup> Today, it is mostly accepted that the bodhisattva with two arms and no elephants is Enmei bosatsu, while the two-armed and twenty-armed bosatsu on elephants are both Fugen Enmei images.

### I.3. Sources and Surviving Images of Fugen Enmei

The main sources I use throughout the dissertation can be divided into four groups:

- 1) Buddhist scriptures and exegetes;
- 2) records of temples, monks, officials, etc.;
- 3) inscriptions on images;
- 4) the images themselves.

The first and foremost group of sources consists of the Buddhist scriptures and their commentaries. I conclude here everything that has been translated and written by monks, with the latter having especially the purpose of explaining the teachings.

Then there is the group of records. The sources belonging to this group written accounts of the scriptures, the rituals and the images, ranging from a couple of words to sometimes multiple pages of description. Most of them are dated to the Heian and Kamakura periods. The majority of records are from one of the big collections, such as the *Dai nihon shiryō* 大日本史料 (DNS), *Dai nihon komonjo* 大日本古文書 (DNK), and the *Dai nihon*

---

<sup>26</sup> One of them is called Vajrasattva (Kongōsatta) in the catalogue of the exhibition titled *Daigoji ten* 醍醐寺展, held in 1998. (*Daigoji ten* 1998: 72, 175-176.)

In the Daigoji temple however, the box of this painting says 'Enmei image 延命像.' The same painting is called Fugen Enmei bosatsu just two years after this exhibition in the detailed listing of the Daigoji paintings in the 18<sup>th</sup> volume of the research bulletin of the temple, the *Daigoji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Kenkyū kiyō* 醍醐寺文化財研究所研究紀要. The exhibition catalogue entry and the bulletin article was written by the same Buddhist painting expert, Ariga Yoshitaka 有賀祥隆 (the article was co-authored with another scholar, Kawamura Tomoyuki 川村和行).

*kokiroku* 大日本古記録 (DNKK),<sup>27</sup> or the recently published *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku* 天皇族実録 (TKJ).<sup>28</sup>

The inscriptions on images are scarce and usually rather brief. Furthermore, they are hardly reliable sources since they can be added at any time, so in this group I refer to inscription that are verified or those that I have seen myself at first hand. The earliest of all was found on the back side of the silk of the painting at Jikōji temple 持光寺, which was designated a National Treasure (Jp. *kokuhō* 国宝) and therefore thoroughly examined in the late 1960s.

The most fundamental sources for the delineation of the iconography types – beside the scriptures – are naturally the images themselves. We will see that the amount of surviving images is due to the fact that the ritual of Fugen Enmei became one of the chief rituals performed for the emperor's well-being and safety. Also, as Yamamoto Tsutomu 山本勉 points out, it also became one of the favourite rituals of the ruling Fujiwara family in the early Heian period.<sup>29</sup> All in all I could gather 56 paintings, 27 iconographical drawings, and 15 statues, out of which there are 49 paintings, 25 drawings, and nine statues are in Japan and the rest of seven paintings, two drawings and five statues are scattered throughout the world.

The drawings can be found most of the time in one of the surviving ritual and iconographic manuals, and also on separate sheets, preserved in temple archives or museums. The majority of these drawings are located in Japan, I have found only two separate sheets of Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva so far in museums abroad.

The statues, the smallest group of the images, show a kind of standard iconography, their depiction does not differ as much as that of the previous groups. Nine statues can be found in Japan and three in Europe, and also there are two small statues found in *zushi*, which I have included alongside the sculptures.

---

<sup>27</sup> Digitized by the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo (東京大学史料編纂所).

URL: <http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/index-j.html>

<sup>28</sup> Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治 et al. (ed.) Published since 2005.

<sup>29</sup> Yamamoto 1992.

## I.4. Previous Research of Fugen Enmei

It is curious why there has not been any comprehensive study carried out about either the bodhisattva Fugen Enmei, or its sūtra and ritual so far. That is the reason why I can only give a brief description of the scarce published works in Buddhist thought and art, periodicals, and exhibition catalogues which mention images, etc. of Fugen Enmei.

The scriptures have never been studied and translated before, however, one of their commentary has been examined by a young Japanese scholar of the Ryūkoku University 龍谷大学, Ōtani Yoshihiro 大谷欣裕.<sup>30</sup>

The oldest published works that mention this bodhisattva dates back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I used the *National Diet Library Digital Collection* 国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション (hereafter cited as NDLDC),<sup>31</sup> which contains many of the books that were published from the Meiji era onwards, in digitalized version. Since the topic of this dissertation is mainly Fugen Enmei bodhisattva himself, I use only the works that mention the bodhisattva (or sometimes Enmei bodhisattva), or one of its images, sometimes even those that refer to its ritual. I will describe these in a chronological order.

There have been many books on Buddhist thought and deities published around the turn of the century, although most commonly these were meant for the general public. Therefore, these usually give brief statements of doctrines and deities, scarcely their images. We receive the first studies from an art historical point of view from the *Kokka* 國華 (国華) periodical, although the thin booklets give us only short description of one or two images.<sup>32</sup> No. 252 (1912) gives a short introduction to a painting in the private collection of Takahashi Suteroku 高橋捨六 (1862-1918). In No. 304 (1915) the Matsunoodera 松尾寺 painting is examined. The next mention of a Fugen Enmei image is in No. 328 (1917), in which a longer account is given of the oldest of the Daigoji 醍醐寺 paintings (with picture). In No. 370 (1921), a multi-paged study is presented of the seven statues in the Kongōbuji

---

<sup>30</sup> Ōtani 2015.

<sup>31</sup> *National Diet Library Digital Collection* 国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション. <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/>

<sup>32</sup> The *Kokka* 國華 is still being published since 1889.

temple 金剛峯寺 at Kōyasan 高野山, which five years later would be destroyed in a fire. In the next year, in No. 391, the statue of Fugen Enmei is singled out from those seven, and briefly introduced separately. In No. 595 (1940) the same seven statues are mentioned again. The article this time is centred on the question of when they could have been made. Next one of the lost paintings is introduced in detail in No. 613 (1941), which was housed in the Kanchiin temple 観智院 of the Tōji temple 東寺.<sup>33</sup> The last and longest study is written by Yajima Arata 矢島新, published in No. 1099 (1987), which focuses on the Jikōji 持光寺 painting.<sup>34</sup>

The very first comprehensive collection on Japanese art, with special regard to Buddhist art, in Japan, is the twenty volumes of the *Shinbi taikan* 真美大観, published between 1899 (Meiji 32 year) and 1908 (Meiji 41 year), edited by Tajima Shiichi 田島志一. Fugen Enmei appears in the 8<sup>th</sup> volume, where one hanging scroll is mentioned with a picture of it, owned by the Matsunoodera temple in Kyoto Prefecture.<sup>35</sup> This painting is essential, for it is one of the oldest, that still survives, and also it is one of the two national treasures. This book was published with descriptions both in English and Japanese.

Due to the disregard of this bodhisattva so far, we only occasionally come across studies from scholars in other periodicals. The first we have to point out is Sawa Ryūken, the most renowned expert of Japanese Buddhist art, who mentions the Fugen Enmei images the most. Of the unbelievable number of his studies he dedicated one solely to various images of the bodhisattva treasured at the Daigoji temple in Kyōto.<sup>36</sup> In the 11<sup>th</sup> issue of the *Bukkyō geijutsu* (or *Ars Buddhica*) 仏教芸術 he examines four paintings from a historical point of view, citing the appropriate sources to prove his theory about the painters. However, a deeper iconographical analysis is not to be found. He also includes the iconography in his famous

---

<sup>33</sup> The painting in the Kanchiin 観智院 today is a different one. We could guess from the detailed examination (it is dated to early Kamakura period), but there is the reproduction which makes it easier to assess that it is a different painting. The painting made another appearance recently in an exhibition, and is now in a private collection.

<sup>34</sup> Yajima 1987.

<sup>35</sup> This volume was published in 1908. URL: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/849578>

<sup>36</sup> Sawa 1951.



manual to Japanese Buddhist deities.<sup>37</sup> His article about the images imported during the Heian period was again great help in the clarification of the origins of the images.<sup>38</sup>

Another study is from Jōjima Masayoshi 城島正祥, an expert on the history and cultural property of Saga prefecture. His 1954 study, published in a periodical called *Shiseki to bijutsu* 史迹と美術, focuses on the statue at the Ryūdenji temple 竜田寺 in Saga city.<sup>39</sup> It is a short description and examination of the sculpture which was designated as important cultural property (Jp. jūyō bunkazai 重要文化財) in 1957.

Most studies were written about the painting of the Jikōji temple 持光寺. First it was Yanagisawa Taka 柳沢孝, who wrote about the painting in 1967.<sup>40</sup> This study and its follow ups, one in 1976 by Takasaki Fujihiko 高崎富士彦 et al.,<sup>41</sup> and another one in the aforementioned *Kokka* 国華 in 1987, hold the most detailed analysis of the bodhisattva's iconography. However, both lack some images, and more importantly, neither says anything about the images found abroad. This results in the ignorance of the third variant of the iconography, the Edo period mixture of the two main types, which appear in Japan, but more importantly, in London and Budapest as well.

The last examination of an individual image was published in 1997. It was written by Okimatsu Kenjirō 沖松健次郎 about the painting in the possession of the Jinryūji temple 神竜寺 in Tsuchiura, Ibaraki prefecture.<sup>42</sup> It is a detailed study of the one image, and also alludes to the different iconographical variants. The bad state of the painting causes some problems when we try to place it in a lineage (more on that later).

Some paintings are also presented briefly in articles or books. Such is the case with the Fugen Enmei mandala, which is very briefly described in the study of the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 in the 70<sup>th</sup> volume of the *Bukkyō geijutsu*.<sup>43</sup> The article by another renowned expert of Buddhist art, Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照, introduces the author Shingaku 心覚

---

<sup>37</sup> Sawa 1970: 84-86.

<sup>38</sup> Sawa 1950.

<sup>39</sup> Jōjima 1954.

<sup>40</sup> Yanagisawa 1967.

<sup>41</sup> Takasaki et al. 1976.

<sup>42</sup> Okimatsu 1997.

<sup>43</sup> Manabe 1969.

(1117-1181) and his major work. Both of the surviving ink drawings of the mandala are presented in the article.

The only image with a known painter is the Fugen Enmei painting in the Daigoji temple from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This was briefly analyzed by Takagishi Akira 高岸輝 in his book about Muromachi paintings.<sup>44</sup> Takagishi examines this image in the line of the other paintings by Tosa (originally Fujiwara) Yukihide 土佐(藤原)行秀 (d.u.), and in the light of his connection with the painting atelier (Jp. *edokoro* 絵所) of the Kasuga taisha shrine 春日大社.<sup>45</sup>

There has been no exhibition focusing on solely on this bodhisattva. When we look at the exhibition catalogues, we find no detailed studies other than the basic information about the artworks, and the information can also be faulty to some extent, since most of the catalogue entries are not written by esoteric Buddhist art experts. This is especially the case with minor exhibitions.<sup>46</sup> Also, Fugen Enmei is not a major deity in the esoteric pantheon so most scholars do not even know about the problems with the iconography, it is not surprising then that some catalogue entries – more than it ought to be – copy and recite faulty predecessors.

The first catalogue mentioning a Fugen Enmei image is from an exhibition held in the Kyoto National Museum 京都国立博物館 (still under the name of Kyoto Imperial Museum 京都皇室博物館) in 1909.<sup>47</sup> It was an exhibition about Yamato-e painting. The title (Fugen Enmei image 普賢延命像) and the painter (Tosa Tsunetaka 土佐経隆) of one of the Ninnaji temple 仁和寺 paintings are mentioned, but there is neither a picture nor a

---

<sup>44</sup> Takagishi 2004.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 249-272. For the Fugen Enmei image see esp. 254-258.

<sup>46</sup> By minor exhibitions I refer to the ones put together by smaller towns displaying the most important artworks they have regionally. These kind of exhibitions usually happen in municipal or prefectural museums of history or folklore, but not art, so we understand the limitations of catalogues. In these, artworks of all kinds are put next to each other, so we can hardly expect from one or two people to be a specialist in all kinds of fields of art. It is also the case with the comprehensive catalogues that introduce the treasures of prefectures.

<sup>47</sup> *Yamato e tokubetsu chinretsu mokuroku* 1909: 2.

URL: <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/850362>

description of it.<sup>48</sup> Another interesting thing is that the painters father is mentioned, and around when he lived.<sup>49</sup>

As was the case with the individual studies, the most often displayed paintings are those of the Matsunoodera and Jikōji temples, which were designated as national treasures. These both appear in Buddhist or esoteric art exhibitions, while the others seldom make an appearance in other than the displays of their own temples. (The Fugen Enmei paintings that were displayed in various exhibitions in the past years are summarised in Table 1.)<sup>50</sup>

Year	Exhibition Name	Place	Image Owners
1909	Yamato e tokubetsu chinretsu 大和絵特別陳列	Kyōto Imperial Museum (today KNM)	Ninnaji
1921	Kōyasan reihō ten 高野山靈宝展	KR	Kōyasan statue
1943	Fukko yamato e ha Totsugen, Ikkei, Tamechika gashū 復古大和絵派訥言・一恵・為恭画集	Onshi Kyōto Museum (today KNM)	Enryakuji (Tamechika)
1972	Boston Bijutsukan tōyō bijutsu meihin ten ボストン美術館東洋美術名品展	KNM TNM	MFA, Boston
1975	Daigoji mikkyō bijutsu ten 醍醐寺密教美術展	Daigoji	Daigoji
1981	Kinokawa ryūiki no butsuzō 紀ノ川流域の仏像	Wakayama Prefectural Museum	Fugenji
1983	Boston Bijutsukan shozō nihon kaiga meihin ten ボストン美術館所蔵日本絵画名品展	KNM TNM	MFA, Boston
1984	Kōbō daishi no meihō 弘法大師の名宝	KR	Shōchiin
1985	Ibaraki no meihō 茨城の名宝	Ibaraki Prefectural Museum of History	Jinryūji
	Genpei no jidai to Kōyasan 源平の時代と高野山	KR	Shōchiin
1986	Mie no bijutsu fūdo wo saguru: Kodai, chūsei no shūkyō to zōkei 三重の美術風土を探索—古代・中世の宗教と造形	Mie Kenritsu Bijutsukan	Keishōji
1987	Ninnaji no meihō ten 仁和寺の名宝展	KNM TNM	Ninnaji
1991	Japanese Buddhist Art	MA, Philadelphia	MA, Philadelphia

<sup>48</sup> 「土佐経隆筆普賢延命像 一幅 仁和寺」

<sup>49</sup> 「土佐経隆ハ隆親ノ男（一ニ光長ノ男ニ作ル）從五位下土佐権守ニ叙任ス承安頃ノ人ナリ」 However, this attribution to Tosa Tsunetaka is not assured. It is also written on the box that contains the painting at the Ninnaji temple, but we do not know when and who attributed this painting to the Tosa painter.

<sup>50</sup> There are some gaps in the middle of the 20th century, and I probably did not find all the catalogues of all the exhibitions where a Fugen Enmei image was on display, therefore this list of the exhibitions cannot be considered complete. It only shows the catalogues and exhibitions I did find during my research.

1992	Tōji no bosatsuzō 東寺の菩薩像	TH	Tōji
1993	Kawana Rakusan: 19 seiki no Kano-ha gaka 川名楽山—19世紀の狩野派画家	Tateyama Municipal Museum	Tateyama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan
1995	Nihon bukkō bijutsu meihōten 日本仏教美術名宝展	NNM	Jikōji Matsunoodera
	Kōyasan no bosatsuzō 高野山の菩薩像	KR	Entsūji Shōchiin
1996	Ibaraki no bukkō bijutsu: Kamakura, Muromachi jidai no butsuzō to butsuga 茨城の仏教美術—鎌倉・室町時代の仏像と仏画—	Ibaraki Prefectural Museum of History	Jinryūji
	Shugyoku no Nihon bijutsu: Hosomi korekushon no zenbō to Boston, Cleaveland, Sackler no wadaiaku 珠玉の日本美術—細見コレクションの全貌とボストン、クリーブランド、サックラーの話題作	Chiba Municipal Museum of Art	Hosomi Zaidan
1997	Hieizan Kōyasan meihōten 比叡山高野山名宝展	Enryakuji	Enryakuji
1998	Buddhist Art of the Edo Period	BM, London	BM, London
	Daigoji ten 醍醐寺展	Daigoji	Daigoji
	Herbst Wind in den Kiefern – Japanische Kunst der Sammlung Langen	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln	Langen Foundation
	Ōchō no butsuga to girei: Zen wo tsukushi, bi wo tsukusu 王朝の仏画と儀礼—善をつくし美をつくす	KNM	Daigoji Jikōji Matsunoodera
1999	ランゲン夫妻の眼：初公開欧州随一の日本美術コレクション Langen fusai no me: sho kōkai Ōshū zuiichi no nihon bijutsu korekushon	Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of Art	Langen Foundation
	Bōsō no kami to butsu 房総の神と仏	Chiba Municipal Museum of Art	Chōtokuji
	Hieizan Enryakuji no meihō to kokuhō, bonshō 比叡山延暦寺の名宝と国宝・梵鐘	Enryakuji Sagawa Museum of Art	Enryakuji
	Heian jidai no bijutsu 平安時代の美術	Kumamoto Prefectural Museum of Art	Taisanji
	Hotoke no sugata	KR	Shōchiin
2002	Boston Bijutsukan: Nihon bijutsu no shihō ボストン美術館—日本美術の至宝	TNM	MFA, Boston
2003	Kūkai to Kōyasan 空海と高野山	KR	Shōchiin
	Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu: Meihō no bi, seikyō no seika 東寺観智院の歴史と美術—名宝の美聖教の精華	TH	Kanchiin
2004	Samantabhadra no kaiga: Utsukushiki hotoke he no inori 普賢菩薩の絵画—美しきほとけへの祈り—	YB	Enryakuji Hosomi Zaidan Jikōji Matsunoodera NNM Ninnaji

	Mihotoke to goriyaku みほとけとごりやく	Kanagawa Prefectural Kanazawa Library	Ryūgeji
2005	Saichō to Tendai no kokuhō 最澄と天台の国宝	Enryakuji	Taisanji
	Mihotoke no bi to katachi み仏の美とかたち	Ōita Prefectural Museum of History	Taisanji
	Fukko Yamato e shi Tamechika: Bakumatsu ōchō renbo 復古大和絵師為恭—幕末王朝恋慕	YB	Enryakuji (Tamechika)
	Mikkyō mandara, kosumosu no sekai 密教曼荼羅・コスモスの世界	KR	Shōchiin
2006	Shomin no shinbutsuga – Kamata Korekushon 庶民の神仏画—鎌田コレクション	Iwate Prefectural Museum	
2007	Birei: Inseiki no kaiga 美麗—院政期の絵画	NNM	Jikōji Matsunoodera
	Shuhō no bijutsu: Bessonbō to besson mandara 修法の美術—別尊法と別尊曼荼羅	Rittō Museum of History and Ethnography	Enryakuji Enryakuji (Tamechika)
2008	Kōyasan no meihō 高野山の名宝	KR	Shōchiin
2009	Japan from Prehistory to Present	BM, London	BM, London
	Hotoke no jimotsu to mikkyō hōgu 仏の持物と密教法具	KR	Shōchiin
2010	Mikkyō no bijutsu 密教の美術	KR	Entsūji
2011	Ofuda, images gravées des temples du Japon – collection Bernard Frank	Musée Guimet	Jōkakuji ofuda
2013	Butsuzō hantō: Bōsō no utsukushiki hotoketachi 仏像半島—房総の美しき仏たち	Chiba Municipal Museum of Art	Daijionji
	Kōyasan no meihō 高野山の名宝	KR	Shōchiin
2014	Daigoji no subete 醍醐寺のすべて	NNM	Daigoji painting Daigoji drawing
	Kyūshūbutsu: 1300 nen no inori to katachi 九州仏—一三〇〇年の祈りとかたち	Fukuoka Municipal Museum	Taisanji
	Nihon kokuhō ten 日本国宝展	TNM	Jikōji
2016	Kōyasan no meihō 高野山の名宝	KR	Shōchiin
2017	Shōchiin no meihō 正智院の名宝	KR	Shōchiin

**Table 1. Exhibitions with Fugen Enmei Images**

## I.5. The Synthesis of the Dissertation

Using the many surviving ritual or iconographical manuals, which were first orally transmitted then written down, handed down by monks, temples, or artists, I will delineate the types and subtypes of the iconography of Fugen Enmei, which also contributes to the fields of not just Japanese history and art history, but also to the cultural history of how Buddhist temples operated, how the rituals were executed, and how the iconographies (and paintings) were handled or passed down.

Although the title suggests a profound art historical study, I feel obliged to explicate the structure of the dissertation in order not to disappoint the reader. Iconographical studies are accompanied by the research of the origin of the images, which, in the case of religious art, includes a tad deeper than elementary understanding of the doctrinal basis as well. The four chapters – not including the first and last, the Introduction and the Concluding Remarks – are all in accordance with the goal of giving a full account on Fugen Enmei bodhisattva and his representations. Therefore the second chapter is titled The Background, in which I give a brief introduction of how and when the esoteric teachings and their art reached Japan. The *sūtras* are analysed in detail in the third chapter, called The Scriptures. An astute examination of an iconography requires a look at the scriptures which describe it first. Beside these *sūtras*, I will also include in the analysis the many commentaries written by the Japanese Buddhist monks. The fourth chapter is the core of the dissertation. It is where the iconographical types are discussed thoroughly. In this chapter, after addressing the most common problems of the iconography, I will establish the variations and possible groups of the existing images and examine whether it can be a result of doctrinal alterations of the different branches of the Japanese esoteric schools. The fifth chapter is called The Rituals. It is due to the popularity and important function of the Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals that so many images were made and – most fortunately for us – survived in Japan. I will briefly introduce and compare the two kinds of rituals and what is written about them by the monks of the aforesaid two esoteric schools. Finally, I will summarise the findings of my examination and highlight possible future expanding paths for this research in the Concluding Remarks.

To sum up the logic behind the structure: without the *sūtras* there would be no iconography, and without the images there would be no rituals, making it essential to first

introduce the scriptural basis, then the iconography variants, and show the usage of such images.

The primary sources and the secondary bibliographies will be listed in the Bibliography section after the main chapters. As the *Fugen Enmei sūtra*, and the four adamantine life-span scriptures have never been translated to English, therefore I supplement the photocopies of the *Taishōzō* versions of the scriptures and their first full English translations in Appendix A and B.

Owing to the various translations of the names of buddhist divinities, I am referring to the ones which were originated in India by their Sanskrit names, and giving the Japanese translations with their kanji characters in parenthesis. However, deities such as Fugen Enmei or Enmei bodhisattvas will be discussed using their Japanese names, since there are no sources with their Sanskrit names.

Throughout the dissertation I am referring to a number of images. I am using images within the text, these will be called *Figures*, and consist of images which are other than the individual images of Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva, the primary subject of the dissertation. However, I am including drawings of this bodhisattva which are parts of the ritual and iconographical manuals, hence these images are not individual, but part of a set of images. At the end, I also present – mostly colourful – *Plates* of the individual images (paintings, drawings, and sculptures) of Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva, which include general information that I gathered during my research.

## II. The Background

Before exploring the scriptural basis, the images or their ritual environment, let us first make a brief detour to the historical and doctrinal background. From India, we will travel to China, then to Japan, just as the teachings did with possibly Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. The Indian origins are vague, the history is lacking, but nevertheless it is where the esoteric teachings emerged, therefore I do not have to stress the necessity for its introduction.

The matters in China are far more complicated though. Indian teachings got to the land via different routes and through different cultures. We still cannot fathom just how deeply the Buddhist teachings were affected by or fused with the manifold Chinese cultural aspects, which have been already in an advanced stage when the Indian thought, and especially when the esoteric teachings, arrived. It is argued still, as we will see below, whether the esoteric teachings were ever treated as a separate system of doctrines, as it happened in Japan, or just as one part of the already dominant Mahāyāna tradition.

Then, we arrive to the introduction of these teachings to Japanese soil, where they took deep roots and blossomed into the most influential Buddhist denomination, maintaining its prominent position for centuries, by serving almost exclusively the ruling class and the imperial family. The initially imported teachings were developed into a system by the Japanese founder, Kūkai, who passed down the secret teachings to his many disciples, to become fragmented and diverse in the ways of interpreting – or further developing – the original *dharma*.

In the case of esoteric Buddhist art, a very similar pattern evolves in front of us: the doctrines were first developed and depicted in India, and before long it was transmitted to China – with the possibility of alterations occurring during the journey and in the new land as well. By the time the esoteric depictions reached Japan a whole system – a pantheon – were developed, which was then introduced and integrated into the Japanese Buddhist scene formulating in the beginning of the Heian period (794-1192).

In this chapter I am highlighting some events that contributed to the dissemination of esoteric thought and art, from India to East Asia, ultimately to Japan. There has been a number of extensive studies about the origins and history of the esoteric dharma. I have



chosen to point out regional peculiarities, doctrines and some artworks that not just reached Japan but became prominent in that land. Therefore, I am examining Indian esoteric Buddhism until the 8<sup>th</sup> century, for later tantric notions did not reach Japan. I am emphasizing the beginnings and developments of Chinese esoteric thought and art, mostly of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Finally, in the case of Japanese esoteric Buddhism, I am only touching upon the distinctive features and the historical milieu in which the Fugen Enmei text, ritual and images grew popular.

## **II.1. Problematic Definition(s) and Indian Beginnings**

Esoteric Buddhism has its roots in India, but became fundamentally popular and widespread abroad. Although the Fugen Enmei image seems to be missing from the pantheon of Indian Buddhism, it is still important to see the historical background of the teachings from which the bodhisattva and its iconography was born. The evolving of the esoteric dharma was the result of a long process in its birthplace, but then it spread rapidly to other countries. Every country it appeared it changed somehow, adapting to the natural cultural environment already existing in that land. In Japan, a unique way of assimilation could be seen from as early as the arrival of Buddhism, so it was no surprise that the esoteric school became one of the most popular schools during the Heian and Kamakura periods.

The first and foremost problem constitutes the designation of the teachings we call in Japanese Buddhism ‘esoteric.’ This label alludes to the secrecy of the advanced teachings. Some scholars<sup>51</sup> came to the conclusion that two different traditions developed from the same roots: one is called tantric, which suggests the use of *tantras*, especially in India and Southeast Asia, then later in Tibet and China. The other one is called esoteric and spread in China in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries to be imported to Japan in the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The word *tantra* never became standard in Japan, even in China it was translated with the

---

<sup>51</sup> For a detailed study see Sørensen 2011: 157-159; Gray – Overbey 2016: 2-3. Generally, scholars of Indian or Tibetan Buddhism call the whole tradition as tantric, or *Vajrayāna* (see for example White 2000: 6); and scholars of East Asian Buddhism tend to label it as esoteric Buddhism.

same word as the scriptures.<sup>52</sup> In this regard Sørensen points out that the kind of institutionalized Esoteric Buddhism that existed in East Asia between ca. 700–1000 C.E., i.e., in China, Korea, and Japan, was in many ways quite different from that of contemporary India, not to mention early Tantric Buddhism in Tibet.<sup>53</sup>

The term 'esoteric' is commonly understood as a distinction between the secret and the open (exoteric) teachings. However, the exact definition of the esoteric teachings is not at all simple, more like non-existent today, since many scholars have many different points of view. Even in *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (hereafter cited as PDB) there is no separate article for esoteric Buddhism, so we have to look for a definition under the terms *mikkyō* 密教 and tantrism. First of all, the Japanese term *mikkyō*, meaning the 'secret teachings,' refers to the traditions of the Japanese schools, the Shingon and the Tendai, so it only covers the Japanese part of the definition, even though the founders, Kūkai and Saichō imported the supposedly Indian teachings from China.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, the definition for *tantra* is usually a text that carries esoteric teachings, however, as it is stated in the Princeton dictionary, there are texts that does not have *tantra* in their title.

The editors of one of the most recent and comprehensive study collections, Charles D. Orzech, Richard K. Payne and Henrik H. Sørensen list four primary positions that scholars take on the use of the terms esoteric and *tantra*:

1. some use them as interchangeable terms, developed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> centuries;
2. some think that esoteric Buddhism antedates the distinct *tantras*;
3. to some esoteric Buddhism is synonymous with Buddhist *tantra*, but date it to the 6<sup>th</sup> century when the previously developed elements (mantra, mandala, homa rituals, etc.) come together in a system;
4. some reject the term *tantra*, and argues that esoteric Buddhism was understood in China as a new technological system in the Mahāyāna.<sup>55</sup>

Surprisingly, there were not many studies about esoteric Buddhism in India until recent years. Most works on esoteric teachings, mainly focus on the secret spells (mantra or

---

<sup>52</sup> In Japan today *tantra* is written with katakana, indicating that it is a new loan-word. In China the *Mahāvairocana-tantra* is called *Dari jing* (Jp. *Dainichi kyō*) 大日經, just as all other *sutras*, and not distinguishing the *tantra*.

<sup>53</sup> Sørensen 2011b: 156.

<sup>54</sup> The possibility to alterations through a continent journey cannot be disregarded. The origins are in India, but seeing the many ways these Indian Buddhist teachings could arrive to China, and the effects of meeting indigenous cultures and religious thoughts make us doubtful of any teaching that does not have an original Sanskrit version (or written in any other Indian languages).

<sup>55</sup> Orzech – Payne – Sørensen 2011: 5.

dhāraṇī), which became the centre of such teachings. We see that the core teachings evolved from the Mahāyāna dharma, and some scholars actually perceive the esoteric dharma as one branch of the latter. In the past decade, however, more and more scholars turned to the thoughts and art of this special and difficult to comprehend branch of Buddhist studies. One of the reasons for the past disregard of scholars must be the difficulty to define esoteric Buddhism and its history. David Snellgrove write about the history of Tantric Buddhism and its transmission to Tibet in his *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors* in 1987. Another comprehensive analysis is Ronald M. Davidson's, published in 2002, whose examination is from the point of view of Indian history and culture. In its preface, Davidson too voices his surprise as why there have not been such a broad work on esoteric Buddhism before.<sup>56</sup> He argues that *esoteric Buddhism is a direct Buddhist response to the feudalization of Indian society in the early medieval period, a response that involves the sacralization of much of that period's social world.*<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, neither Snellgrove, nor Davidson tries to clarify the very beginnings of esoteric Buddhist doctrines.

The origins and beginnings of esoteric Buddhism is hard to determine, as scholars have repeatedly concluded before. It is common though, that they agree on one thing: the blurry beginnings and outlines of the esoteric teachings, or secret teachings. As early as Sinnet in 1883, it has been determined that these teachings are hard to define.<sup>58</sup>

Davidson writes that the esoteric system is *the vehicle of secret spells, a movement specifically grounded in the Buddhist experience of the sixth to twelfth centuries in India.*<sup>59</sup> But this designation is used to the tantric system or vehicle, the *Vajrayāna*, which is sometimes distinguished, other times used as a euphemism to esoteric teachings.

It is McBride who questions the whole system in his 2004 study titled "*Is There Really Esoteric Buddhism?*"<sup>60</sup> He cites recent (from the 1990s) studies which also contribute to this problematic classification.<sup>61</sup> McBride examines Chinese treatises and commentaries

---

<sup>56</sup> Davidson 2002: XI.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 2.

<sup>58</sup> Sinnet 1883.

<sup>59</sup> Davidson 2002: 4.

<sup>60</sup> McBride 2004: 329-356.

<sup>61</sup> For example, Hugh B. Urban 1999. "The Extreme Orient: The Construction of 'Tantrism.'" *Religion* 29. and Donald S. Lopez, Jr. 1996. *Elaborations on Emptiness: Uses of the Heart Sutra*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

about the esoteric and exoteric classification, which, he argues, is the result of the early Chinese thought on *Mahāyāna* and *Hīnayāna*, to show the superiority of the first to the latter.<sup>62</sup> He comprehends esoteric teachings as *a fundamentally transcendent kind of knowledge that represents the bodhisattva's comprehension of ultimate reality, the emptiness of all dharmas, their fundamental lack of self-nature and marks and their original quiescence — “the acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas” (Ch. wushengfa ren, Sk. anutpattikadharmakṣānti [Jp. mushōbōnin 無生法忍]) — but also that the Buddha employed skillful means (upaya) to lead aspirants to understand the esoteric teaching. In other words, esoteric teachings are, by definition, advanced Mahāyāna teachings suited to bodhisattvas.*<sup>63</sup>

Many scholars nowadays think that esoteric Buddhism can be regarded as a branch of late Mahāyāna teachings. As Peter Harvey puts it, *it is a form of the Mahāyāna which saw itself as a new, more powerful ‘vehicle’ to salvation. (...) This new ‘vehicle’ was based on a large body of texts called Tantras, which outline complex meditational ‘systems’ which incorporate ritual, magic and a rich symbolism.*<sup>64</sup> The emphasis is on ritual and symbolism. One of the notable characteristics of esoteric Buddhism is its many rituals, which resulted in a vast pantheon with many hundred deities. First, there were the major rituals, like the rain-making ceremony, which made Amoghavajra legendary in the 8<sup>th</sup> century in Tang China. Then appeared more and more rituals of individual deities (Jp. *bessonbō* 別尊法), such as the Fugen Enmeihō. From a Western point of view, in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, many scholars who came in contact with esoteric Buddhism, first saw it as a strange (degenerate) mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism.<sup>65</sup>

Rituals, magic and symbolism – these are some key words to describe the outer margins of esoteric Buddhism. As for its secret doctrines, one of the most essential is the rapid (or instantaneous) enlightenment to which it offers a secret path. In Kūkai's commentary it was expressed as *becoming Buddha in the present body* (Jp. *sokushin jōbutsu*

---

<sup>62</sup> McBride 2004: 332.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Harvey 1990: 133-134.

<sup>65</sup> It was the English theosophist, Alfred Percy Sinnet, who first voiced his thought in 1883 that esoteric Buddhism is just the repetition of the earlier Brahmanical philosophy. Then in 1922, the Belgian Indologist and Buddhist scholar, Louis de La Vallée-Poussin called it '*Buddhist Hinduism*.'

即身成仏). It is very far from the first notion of becoming a Buddha in aeons of time, as did Śākyamuni.

Another crucial aspect of esoteric Buddhism, for the sake of maintaining its secrecy, is the master–disciple relationship. The only way to learn was to enter into priesthood, to become a disciple of a master with the knowledge of the secret teachings, then to be initiated into those teachings. The strict system of the many levels of initiation was to protect the *dharma* from uninitiated minds. The role of the master (or *guru*, *vajra* master [*vajrācārya*]) is emphasized greatly, without him, the disciple cannot progress.

The history of esoteric Buddhism in India is usually focused on *tantra* and tantric literature of later centuries, from the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> centuries onward, but our interest lies in the beginning, which is still quite ambiguous. Texts that can be defined as esoteric or tantric were first written down somewhere between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, and were made until the 12-13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>66</sup> Due to the already existing and steadily increasing relations between the countries where Buddhism spread, esoteric texts arrived relatively early to China and then to Japan.

Although the esoteric teachings are said to be the words of Śākyamuni, directed to a group of selected disciples and passed on until they were written down, the Buddhist monks also applied complex ritual practices from Hinduism as well. The use of *mantras*, the powerful sacred words of the *Vedas*, or the integration of Hindu deities into the Buddhist pantheon are among the most apparent signs of these borrowed practices.<sup>67</sup> According to Snellgrove, there are certain terms that must be applied in a text to be called *tantra*: such as the previously cited *mantra*, or the *mudrā* and the *mandala*.<sup>68</sup> These three actually symbolize the core of the esoteric teachings, which practitioners use to realize their Tathāgata nature.<sup>69</sup> They are called the three mysteries (Jp. *sanmitsu* 三密):<sup>70</sup> the mystery

---

<sup>66</sup> Scholars differ on this subject. Harvey presumes it happened around the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Harvey 1990: 134.). Paul Williams and Anthony Tribe assume that texts started appearing in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Williams – Tribe 2000: 194.), as does Péter-Dániel Szántó more recently (Szántó 2013: 95).

<sup>67</sup> Harvey lists these among the elements which led to the rise of this new vehicle. Harvey 1990: 134.

<sup>68</sup> Snellgrove 1959: 138.

<sup>69</sup> DCBT 1934: 63.

<sup>70</sup> The three mystic things: the body, mouth (i.e. voice), and mind of the Tathāgata, which are universal, all things being this mystic body, all sound this mystic voice, and all thought this mystic mind. All creatures in body, voice, and mind are only individualized parts of the Tathāgata, but illusion hides their Tathāgata nature from them. (*Ibid.*)

of the mouth (Jp. *kumitsu* 口密), e.g. voicing the *mantras*, the body (Jp. *shinmitsu* 身密), e.g. making the postures and hand gestures, and the mind (Jp. *imitsu* 意密), e.g. meditating.

Mantras have a longer history in India than Buddhism itself. They have been used as early as the *vedas*, so Katsumata reasonably originates the seeds of esoteric Buddhism in Vedic religions.<sup>71</sup> As far as the origins of the mantra go, this association was never questioned by scholars, although the seeds of the esoteric Buddhism are found in many places. It was Davidson who approached the origins from the viewpoint of the social history of India. He argues that some esoteric Buddhist ideas came from the notions of Indian kingship.<sup>72</sup> He wrote this in his fundamental work which discusses the factors in the formation of esoteric Buddhist traditions in the cauldron of post-Gupta India. Its thesis is that esoteric Buddhism is a direct Buddhist response to the feudalization of Indian society in the early medieval period, a response that involves the sacralization of much of that period's social world. Specifically, this book argues that the monk, or *yogin*, in the esoteric system configures his practice through the metaphor of becoming the overlord of a *mandala* of vassals, and issues of scripture, language, and community reflect the political and social models employed in the surrounding feudal society. Our investigation accordingly explores selected forms of Indian Buddhism that flourished in the early medieval period, here taken as the time from c. 500 c.e. to 1200 c.e.<sup>73</sup> Japanese scholars came up with the system of the miscellaneous and pure esoteric doctrines because of the noticeably diverse use of special features, such as the *mantras* in Buddhist texts. The fault of this system lies in its universal characteristic, how the Japanese scholars tried to fit all the texts they deemed esoteric in one of the categories according to the factors they established. Nevertheless, Misaki Ryōshū or Abe Ryūichi has highlighted its limitations already at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but Abe also mentions that it is still widely accepted by Japanese scholars.<sup>74</sup>

Most of what we know about the development of Indian Buddhism, we know from the travellers' records. We seldom get bits and pieces of information about the status of esoteric teachings. One of them is from the Chinese monk, Wuxing 無行 (630-674), whose report

---

<sup>71</sup> Katsumata 1970: 4-5.

<sup>72</sup> Davidson 2002: 2.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>74</sup> Misaki 1988: 146-147; Abe 1999: 152-153.

of the new popularity of *esoterism* is preserved in Annen's treatise.<sup>75</sup> We know that he studied at Nālandā 那爛陀寺 and Tilaśākya 毘羅茶寺, two of the great centres of Indian Buddhism of that time.<sup>76</sup> Davidson points out that Buddhists were part of the trade, which resulted in the commercial expansion of earlier mythic and ritual directions, as can be seen in Avalokiteśvara's new function as a protector of mariners in the 6<sup>th</sup> century (the bodhisattva is shown in some carvings of cave temples with boat men praying to him).<sup>77</sup> He continues his line of thought with the gradually growing royal patronage which was encouraged by monks.<sup>78</sup> We will see that this royal (or aristocratic) patronage would be one of the main agencies through which esoteric Buddhism survives in every region where it appears outside India.

The esoteric Buddhism which spread in East Asia is different than what developed in India after the 8th century, and what was transmitted to Tibet (and later to China as well). The Japanese scholar Yoritomi points out that later Indian developments of what can be called there Tantrism or *Vajrayāna*, never reached Japan.<sup>79</sup> Later Tantric thought, which would be known in the Western world mostly for its sexual duality of the masculine and feminine, as in Tibetan Buddhist art the deities are represented with their female consorts, is nowhere to be found among the esoteric *dharma* that was transmitted to Japan.

No matter how ambiguous the beginning of the esoteric dharma is, at least we know the end of Buddhism in India. The Islamic invasion that almost wiped out Buddhism in Central Asia finally reached India in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most great temple sites were destroyed, except for some cave temples, situated isolated in the jungle, that were not found by the Muslims, such as Ajaṇṭā.

---

<sup>75</sup> T 2396, vol. 75: 431a11.

<sup>76</sup> For Wuxing's brief biography see Yixing's travelogue in the *Taishōzō*. T 2066, vol. 51: 09a21 – 10a25.

<sup>77</sup> Davidson 2002: 78.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Tachikawa – Yoritomi 2000: 24.

## II.2. Esoteric Doctrines in China

The direct connections between China and India was established as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> century, despite all physical barriers, allowing the esoteric teachings to enter the Chinese land and thought.<sup>80</sup> The new dharma slowly developed and became prominent, even prosperous for a brief time. There were inland and maritime routes to India, the previous took the traveller through Central Asia, the latter through Southeast Asia.

Shinohara indicates that scriptures with spells began to filter into the Chinese land from the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>81</sup> These initial translations show that spells (*dhāraṇīs* or *mantras*) must have been already included in scriptures in earlier centuries in India.

From the 3<sup>rd</sup> century scriptures with spells began to be translated to Chinese, and scriptures with the title of *dhāraṇī-sūtra* (Ch. *tuoluoni jing*, Jp. *darani kyō* 陀羅尼經) or “divine spell” (Ch. *shenzhou*, Jp. *shinju* 神呪) made an appearance. In the next couple of centuries, the number of such translated scriptures increased, just as the appearance of co-opted Hindu gods. One of the ground-breaking point in the history of esoteric Buddhism in China is the appearance of the *Collection of Miscellaneous Dhāraṇīs* (Ch. *Tuoluoni zaji*, Jp. *Darani zasshū* 陀羅尼雜集)<sup>82</sup> and the *Consecration Scripture* (Ch. *Guanding jing*, Jp. *Kanjō kyō* 灌頂經).<sup>83</sup> As Sørensen highlights it, from this point onward, we are justified in speaking of the existence of an “Esoteric Buddhism,” a form of Mahāyāna with its own ritual hermeneutics, moral codex, secret transmission, and self-understanding.<sup>84</sup> This continued in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, parallel to the development of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (Ch. *Dari jing*, Jp. *Dainichi kyō* 大日經, hereafter cited as MVS)<sup>85</sup> in India, and by the end of the century,

---

<sup>80</sup> For more about the initial contact between India and China see Sen 2003: 1-14.

<sup>81</sup> Shinohara 2014: 4. He surmises that the earliest *dhāraṇī* collection is in the four fascicles of the *The Divine Spells of the Great Dhāraṇīs Taught by the Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas* (Ch. *Qifo bapusa suoshuo datuoluoni shenzhou jing*, Jp. *Sichibutsu hachi bosatsu shosetsu dai darani jin ju kyō* 七佛八菩薩所說大陀羅尼神呪經), a 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century work, which would be a part of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Dhāraṇīs* (Ch. *Tuoluoni zaji*, Jp. *Darani zōshū* 陀羅尼雜集), dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>82</sup> T 1336, Vol. 21. Author unknown, first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>83</sup> T 1331, Vol.21. An apocryphon, composed in late 5<sup>th</sup> century, but as Sørensen argues, it does contain a substantial amount of authentic Indian material. (Sørensen 2011b: 164; Strickmann 1990: 75-118.)

<sup>84</sup> Sørensen 2011b: 165.

<sup>85</sup> Full title: *Mahāvairocana abhisambodhi vikurvita adhiṣṭhāna tantra* (Ch. *Da Piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing*, Jp. *Dai Birushana jōbutsu jinben kaji kyō* 大毘盧遮那成仏神變加持經).



a new type of esoteric text can be discovered in China. The various manifestations of Avalokiteśvara (e.g. Ekādaśamukha, Amoghapāśa, Nīlakanthaka, etc.) are also among these newly translated scriptures (their images in China and Japan will be examined below). Therefore, it was the Indian monks of the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, such as Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (? - 727), who created the basis for the legendary three masters of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

A long line of scholars, Eastern and Western as well, have tried to delineate the esoteric Buddhism of the three great Indian masters in China, namely Śubhakarasiṃha (Ch. Shanwuwei, Jp. Zenmui 善無畏, 637-735), Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra.<sup>86</sup> The focus on these masters and their achievements in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and the development of systematized teachings of invocation, worship, meditative communion, and incantations, resulted in a long-lasting misleading notion that a separate school evolved in China during the time of these three masters. Robert Sharf argues that such characteristics can be found in other – mostly Mahāyāna – Buddhist traditions, and that based upon them we cannot declare an isolated tradition.<sup>87</sup> In his treatise he argues that while in Japan the founders and followers of esoteric Buddhism clearly stated their teachings distinctive features (and superiority) to that of the exoteric doctrines or ‘exposed teachings’ (Jp. *kengyō* 顕教), *Chinese sources provide little in the way of evidence to support the Japanese understanding of a self-conscious esoteric school or lineage in the Tang.*<sup>88</sup> He surmises that the open or “explicit” designation referred to the teachings were witnessed and understood by all, but the more advanced teachings were deemed secret, *because only advanced beings possessed the spiritual wherewithal to discern them.*<sup>89</sup> What Kūkai propagated in Japan and called the True Word (Shingon) tradition, was a conscious classification of the esoteric teachings (or *mikkyō*), as opposed to every other Buddhist dharma. By distinguishing it, the founder of the Japanese tradition explained the exclusivity of the secret teachings by declaring them being superior to the ‘exposed teachings.’ Sharf contends that there is no evidence that Chinese monks viewed the teachings of the master as dissociated from or inconsonant with other forms of Buddhist practices.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Ōmura 1972; Taganoo 1927; Chou 1945; and Sharf 2002.

<sup>87</sup> Sharf 2002: 263.

<sup>88</sup> Sharf 2002: 267.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 268.

The High Tang period (8<sup>th</sup> century) was the most celebrated times in the history of esoteric Buddhism in China. What the three masters achieved in the short period of those six decades is truly remarkable. Through their translated works and extant biographies they are possibly the most researched subjects of esoteric Buddhism anywhere.<sup>91</sup> Especially Amoghavajra, the youngest of the three, became a legendary character, whose miraculous deeds were admired by myriads of people. According to their written reputation they were regarded as Buddhist wizards who placed their supernatural powers in the service of the court, as Sharf describes it.<sup>92</sup> Kūkai originated his Shingon lineage from Vairocana Buddha, enlisting Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra as the fifth and sixth patriarchs of that lineage and including all three in the *Eight Great Doctrine-Expounding Patriarchs* (Jp. *denji no hasso* 伝持の八祖).<sup>93</sup> It was Śubhākarasiṃha's single most important accomplishment to translate the *MVS* and to compile the massive *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra* (Ch. *Da Piluzhe'na chengfo jing shu*, Jp. *Daibirushana jōbutsu kyō shō* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏, T. 1796) in 724, with his Chinese disciple Yixing 一行 (683–727). The original date of creation of this scripture is much debated, it was most likely authored in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>94</sup> This text holds the instructions to the creation of the Womb world mandala, one of the Two world mandalas (Jp. Ryōkai or Ryōbu mandara 両界[部]曼荼羅) which were propagated extensively in Japan from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, with many extant examples today.<sup>95</sup> The first master arrived to the Tang capital a few years earlier than Vajrabodhi and his disciple, Amoghavajra, who entered Changan in 720. Vajrabodhi began to translate a portion of the *STTS*, but only the first part was completed during the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>96</sup> Altogether ca. twenty-five works can be associated with Vajrabodhi's name, according to

---

<sup>91</sup> The first and foremost study of their biographies is authored by Chou, who also translated the texts to English (Chou 1945). The thorough study of Amoghavajra's life is given in Orlando Raffaello's PhD dissertation (Raffaello 1981). One of Vajrabodhi's biography was again examined in the near future (Sundberg – Giebel 2011). All three masters are given separate chapters in one of the most monumental work on esoteric Buddhism in East Asia (Orzech – Payne – Sørensen 2011, esp. 339-359).

<sup>92</sup> Sharf 2002: 269.

<sup>93</sup> T 2161, vol. 55: 1062c09 – 14.

<sup>94</sup> Hodge 2003: 17-18. Hodge puts the date of creation ca. 640.

<sup>95</sup> Orzech points out that relatively few examples of the two world mandalas are to be found in China, especially compared to the number of Japanese materials. (Orzech 2011a: 276n59)

<sup>96</sup> Vajrabodhi's version is short and incomplete (T 0866, Vol.18). Amoghavajra also rendered one – longer – part of the text into Chinese in 754 (T 0865, Vol.18) which became standard for the time being, and was used to construct the Diamond world mandala (Sk. Vajradhātu mandala, Jp. Kongōkai mandara 金剛界曼荼羅), the second of the Two world mandalas. The full translation was carried out by another Indian monk, Dānapāla at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century during the Northern Song dynasty. For more about the translation of this crucial text see Chapter 3 – The Scriptures.

the Buddhist canon.<sup>97</sup> Until his master's death in 741, Amoghavajra translated a number of texts, a long list of his new translations are listed in the *Catalogue of the Buddhist Canon of the Kaiyuan Years* (Ch. *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, Jp. *Kaigen shakukyō roku* 開元釋教錄), compiled in twenty fascicles by the Chinese monk Zhisheng 智昇 in 730.<sup>98</sup>

We know a great deal about Amoghavajra as well, whose life is recorded in three biographies, one of them is the *Account of Conduct of the Former Great Worthy Bestowed with the Title Minister of Works, Senior Master of Tripitaka of Great Discrimination and Broad Wisdom, Bukong of the Great Tang* (Ch. *Da Tang gudade zeng sikong dabian zheng guangzhi bukong sanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辯正廣智不空三藏行狀)<sup>99</sup> by his disciple Zhanqian 趙遷 (d.u.). Another account of his life was recorded in the funeral epitaph on a stele.<sup>100</sup> Amoghavajra was very active until 741, but right after his master's death, he travelled for five years, went as far as Sri Lanka (Ceylon), to obtain more new esoteric dharma. Upon his return he built up a translation workshop with many of his disciples, and translated even more new texts, which had not been transmitted to China before. The Golden Age for Amoghavajra and the esoteric doctrines came with the rule of Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779), who was a true patron of Buddhism and Amoghavajra is reported to have performed many ceremonies in his court for the protection of the land.<sup>101</sup> His list of translated works, the *Collection of the Memoranda on Regulations bestowed by the court of Daizong to the Minister of Works, the One of Great Discrimination and of Broad Wisdom, the Venerable Tripiṭaka Master* (Ch. *Daizong zhao zeng sikong da bianzheng guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji*, Jp. *Daisō chō zō shikū dai benshō kōchi sanzō wajō hyōsei shū* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集), was also a present to the Emperor for his birthday in 771.<sup>102</sup> As Orzech surmises, until his death in 774, Amoghavajra

---

<sup>97</sup> The Japanese sources attribute more texts to him, just as in the case of the Adamantine Life-span scriptures, the translations of which are also ambiguous in Japanese sources, monks usually attribute them to Amoghavajra, or Vajrabodhi, or to the two together.

<sup>98</sup> T 2154, vol. 55: 477-723. Amoghavajra's list is in the last fascicle: 699c15 – 700c21.

<sup>99</sup> T 2056, vol. 50: 292-294.

<sup>100</sup> Written by the Chinese monk Feixi 飛錫 (742-805) in 774. He was another disciple of Amoghavajra's. Full title: *Stele Biography of the Late Master of the Great Tang, Senior Monk and Minister of Works, and Probationary Director of State Ceremonial, Duke of Su, His Holiness and Great Master of Broad Wisdom of the Daxingshan Monastery* (Ch. *Da Tang gudade Kaifu yitong sansi shi Hongluqing Suguogong Daxingshansi Da Guangzhi sanzang heshang zhibei* 大唐故大德開府儀同三司試隴卿肅國公大興善寺大廣智三藏和上之碑). T 2120, vol. 52: 848b18 – 849c3.

<sup>101</sup> Chou 1945; Raffaello 1981. For more about Amoghavajra's connection with the Tang state see Goble 2016.

<sup>102</sup> T 2120, vol. 52: 826-860.

translated numerous scriptures and ritual manuals, becoming the second most prolific translator after Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?-664); performed rituals for the royal family and many high court figures; taught disciples from China, Korea, and Japan; and became, in many ways, the most powerful monk in Chinese history.<sup>103</sup>

Advancing forward from the 8<sup>th</sup> century, some scholars assessed that the zenith of esoteric Buddhism was over with the three Indian masters, and it was in rapid decline, especially after the great anti-buddhist persecution (or Huichang 會昌 suppression) in 845, initiated by the Tang Emperor Wuzong 唐武宗 (814-846, r. 840-846).<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, it is known that Buddhist activity, esoteric as well, was still in progress and also advancing, from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries as well. Amoghavajra's many disciples carried on with his teachings, and one of them was Huiguo 惠果 (746-806), from whom Kūkai gained his knowledge of the esoteric teachings. After Kūkai, the many Shingon and Tendai monks have studied with the disciples of Amoghavajra's disciples.<sup>105</sup> Sørensen also correctly points out that the Anguo temple 安國寺 was still an important esoteric Buddhist centre at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, since in the *Fangshan stone tripitaka* 房山石經 there is a *dhāraṇī* collection from 897-898, attributed to Zhaowu Xinglin 超悟行林, a monk of that temple, who names the esoteric tradition as the 'secret school' (Ch. *mizong*, Jp. *misshū* 密宗).<sup>106</sup>

The end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century marks another great wave of transmission of new dharma. After the Five Dynasties the Northern Song Empire was established and its rulers looked at the Tang glory as an example, which they wanted to recreate and surpass. In their endeavour, the Buddhist text translations were restarted under imperial patronage again. The Song Dynasty was in contact with South Asia, but it is also interesting that so many monks arrived exactly when the Western lands, like Khotan, were invaded and conquered by the

---

<sup>103</sup> Orzech 2011a: 281. Amoghavajra had six disciples, one of them, Huiguo 惠果 (746-805) would become the master of Kūkai in 805.

<sup>104</sup> The Great Anti-Buddhist Persecution was initiated by Emperor Wuzong (r. 840-846) of the Tang dynasty. His aim was to cleanse the land from all foreign religions, with Buddhism among them.

<sup>105</sup> Five of the *nittō hakke* after Kūkai studied from the first or second disciples of Amoghavajra's lineage. Shūei, Ennin, and Enchin studied under the guidance of Faquan 法全 (d.u.) of the Qinglongsi temple 青龍寺 in Changan. The Chinese master was the disciple of Huiguo's disciple, Yicao 義操 (d.u.). Jōgyō (? - 867) obtained the teachings from a monk called Wencan 文璨 (d.u.), who was a direct disciple of Amoghavajra, and his disciple, Huiying (d.u.). Another Japanese monk, Gishin 義真 (781-833) also studied from Yicao in the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>106</sup> Sørensen 2011b: 173.

Muslims.<sup>107</sup> In the beginning of the Song Dynasty there was still contact with Khotan, for example the Chinese monk Daoyuan journeyed back from India through the Western Buddhist land and returned with a Khotanese envoy.<sup>108</sup> In the two detailed study of Jan Yun-hua we find the description of the surviving sources of all the major events that tell us about the connections between the Northern Song Dynasty and India.<sup>109</sup> Dunhuang was also prepared the invasion of the Islamic hoards, it was suggested that Cave 17, or the Library Cave, was sealed in those times, that can be one explanation to why this event is not mentioned in the manuscripts which were found hidden in that cave.<sup>110</sup> Looking at the numbers of this period (between 977 and 1032), the following can be assessed:

- 47 monks arrived to Song China (8 from Middle India, 4 from North India, 3 from South India, 2 from West India, and the origins of the other 30 are not listed) with 242 texts;
- 78 Chinese monks returned from their pilgrimage to India with 208 texts.<sup>111</sup>

The first three Song emperors sponsored many compilation, not just an entire Buddhist canon (983 with periodic updates), but encyclopaedias and a Daoist canon as well. One of the most significant assistance also came from imperial patronage: an Institute for Printing the Canon (Ch. Yinjing yuan, Jp. Inkyōin 印經院) was erected in 982, on the orders of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-997). Some of its most renowned translators were Dharmadeva 法天 (? -1001), Devaśāntika 天息災 (? -1000)<sup>112</sup> and Dānapāla 施護 (d.u, active between 980 and 1017).

‘Esoteric’ as a doctrinal distinction also appeared during the late 10<sup>th</sup> – early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The already mentioned Zanning distinguished an esoteric repository 密藏 in his *Historical Digest of the Sangha Compiled in the Song Dynasty* (Ch. *Dasong seng shilue* 大宋僧史略), but his lineage is different from what we have seen at Kūkai.<sup>113</sup> Among the contributors of the transmission of the secret dharma, Zanning includes the Kuchean monk Srīmitra 帛尸梨蜜多羅 (? -343), Bodhiruci (? -527) of the Northern Wei Dynasty, the

---

<sup>107</sup> Orzech 2011c: 422.

<sup>108</sup> Yun-hua 1966b: 144.

<sup>109</sup> Yun-hua 1966a, 1966b

<sup>110</sup> Hansen 2012: 228.

<sup>111</sup> Sen 2003: 120.

<sup>112</sup> Later, he was given the name Dharmabhadra (Ch. Faxian 法賢) by Emperor Taizong.

<sup>113</sup> T 2126, vol. 54: 234 – 257.

Chinese monk Zhitong 智通 (6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century), besides Amoghavajra, but not the other two famous masters of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>114</sup>

Sharf also confirms that it was from the 10<sup>th</sup> century that Chinese monks began to recognize and work with the term ‘esoterism.’<sup>115</sup> Vajrabodhi is named the first patriarch of the secret teachings (Ch. *mijiao*, Jp. *mikkyō* 密教) in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks (Compiled in the) Song* (Ch. *Song gaoseng zhuan*, Jp. *Sō kōsōden* 宋高僧伝) of Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001).<sup>116</sup> Then, only in the 11<sup>th</sup> century are the exoteric and esoteric teachings clearly distinguished in the *Collection of Essentials for Becoming a Buddha through the Perfect Penetration of the Exoteric and Esoteric* (Ch. *Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji*, Jp. *Kenmitsu entsū jōbutsu shinyō shū* 顯密円通成仏心要集)<sup>117</sup> of Daozhen 道詮 (d.u.).

Most of the texts that are related to our subject, longevity, were translated during the Early and High Tang period, namely the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, there are some important texts to be cited below, which are the translations of another stream of Indian monks arriving to Song China during the 10<sup>th</sup> century in a revived interaction between China and India, the holy land of Buddhism, after many decades of disruptions of power and politics in both countries. The texts that were translated during the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries are of utmost importance for the research of later phases of Indian Buddhism, which also contained a considerable amount (about 285) of esoteric (Tantric) scriptures.

---

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* 240b26 – c18.

<sup>115</sup> Sharf 2002: 269.

<sup>116</sup> T 2061, vol. 50: 724b21 – 22.

<sup>117</sup> T 1955, vol. 46.

### II.3. Japanese Esoteric Buddhism: Origins and Development

It is known from the surviving temple records that many esoteric texts have already reached Japan before the Shingon and Tendai esoteric doctrines of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The texts, which had been transmitted then translated by many Indian and Chinese monks. These translations increased suddenly during the Sui and then in the Tang dynasties, which can be explained by the previously presented gradual formation of the esoteric teachings in India. It is the *Shōsōin monjo* 正倉院文書 where many of the titles of the texts copied during the 8<sup>th</sup> century have been preserved. According to Katsumata, the number of those esoteric texts is 130 (in 300 fascicles), which is ca. one quarter of the texts collected in the *Taishōzō* esoteric section (620 texts in 961 fascicles).<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, these texts are mostly what can be called the “miscellaneous” scriptures which were translated before 735, and almost nothing was introduced of the three great esoteric masters’ works of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, during that time. For example, from Amoghavajra, only the *Kongō jumyō darani kyō* appears in Japan of his 172 translated texts. Even the theory that the purely esoteric texts were introduced by Kūkai is easily refuted, seeing how many copies of the *MVS* were made between 737 and 770. However, this is only one part of the major scriptures, so Katsumata argues that without knowing all the essential translations of Amoghavajra, there could not have been any kind of systematized esoteric denomination in Japan in the Nara period.<sup>119</sup>

It is one thing that the texts are already being copied, it is another that there were also *sūtra*-readings and *dhāraṇī* chanting starting in the Tempyō era. There are many accounts recorded when the *dhāraṇīs* of Amoghapāśa, Ekadasamukha, and other esoteric forms of Avalokiteśvara were recited. The *MVS* and the *STTS*, were explained on many occasions. Yet, the complex rituals would begin to be performed in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Also, there are sporadically examples for more advanced rituals, besides the reading and reciting. Dōji 道慈 (? - 744) learnt the *Kokūzō gumonjihō* 虚空藏求聞持法 from its translator,

---

<sup>118</sup> Katsumata 1970: 7.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 9.

Śubhākarasiṃha, then transmitted it to Japan.<sup>120</sup> The rituals for this worldly benefits (Jp. *genze riyaku* 現世利益) must have also appeared during this time with their scriptures.

The rapidly growing Buddhist community of the six Nara schools (Jp. *nanto rokushū* 南都六宗) and their questionable influence which found its way to the imperial family in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century was one of the reasons why the capital was moved again in 784, then in 794 to its permanent place in Kyoto. In the new milieu the envoys were continued to be sent to Tang China. That is how Saichō, an already prominent monk in the new capital, and the young but ambitious Kūkai left Japan in 804, to return the following year with many important treasures.<sup>121</sup>

One of the most studied subjects of Japanese esoteric Buddhism is the founder of the Japanese Shingon school, and his many writings.<sup>122</sup> In his biography it is recorded that he was already familiar with at least one of the two principal scriptures of the so-called “pure” esoteric Buddhism, the *MVS*. The detailed account of his journey and the obtaining of the new scriptures has been given in English by Abe Ryūichi in his monumental work about Kūkai, his time and his writings, where he uses the *Nihon kōki* 日本後記<sup>123</sup> as the source.<sup>124</sup> As Katsumata puts it, Kūkai purified and organized the Nara esoteric teachings, by introducing a new kind of esoteric dharma.<sup>125</sup> It is true that the system of the two world mandalas with Mahāvairocana in the centre, and the hierarchy of the many deities around him, was one of the several novelties introduced by Kūkai.<sup>126</sup>

There were eight monks who went to Tang China and brought back esoteric teachings during the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and they would be designated as the *nittō hakke* 入唐八家 in the history of Japanese Buddhism. They were: Saichō 最澄 (Tendai, 767-822), Kūkai 空海

---

<sup>120</sup> Dōji was the first monk to cross the sea to Tang China in the 8<sup>th</sup> century (701). He returned to Japan in 718, so he could only have met one of the three masters, who was already in China.

<sup>121</sup> The list of the treasures and some of their explanations can be found in his *Goshōrai mokuroku* 御請来目錄 (T 2161).

<sup>122</sup> As mentioned above Robert Sharf pointed out that there is no evidence whatsoever that a Chinese Chenyen 真言 school existed at all as a proper Buddhist denomination. (Sharf 2002: Appendix 1, 263-278)

<sup>123</sup> An official historical record of Japan, continuing the *Shoku nihongi* 続日本紀. 40 fascicles. It was completed in 840, and tells the events between 792 and 833.

<sup>124</sup> Abe 1999. See especially Chapter 3 *Journey to China*.

<sup>125</sup> Katsumata 1970: 11.

<sup>126</sup> It does not mean that they could not have been transmitted earlier, although it is not probable, since the fact remains that no images of mandalas, or individual deities such as Mahāvairocana (Jp. Dainichi nyorai 大日如来) or Acala (Jp. Fudō myōō 不動明王) survives from the 8<sup>th</sup> century.



(Shingon, 774-835), Jōgyō 常暁 (Sanron 三論, but studied esoteric teachings with Kūkai, ?-867), Engyō 円行 (Shingon, 799-852), Ennin 円仁 (Tendai, 794-864), Eun 恵運 (Shingon, 798-869), Enchin 円珍 (Tendai, 814-891), and Shūei 宗叡 (Shingon, 809-884).<sup>127</sup> If we take a look at all the lists of imported dharma of these eight great monks, we see that starting from Kūkai, more and more esoteric images also found their way to Japan.<sup>128</sup> Looking at the imported texts, it is mostly what had already reached the country during the Nara period, but it is a striking difference that the majority of them are the translations of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra.

The excitement about the Shingon school generally steals the limelight from the *taimitsu* tradition. The first decades of scholarly examination of the esoteric doctrines encompassed the Shingon school and its teachings, but, as Stanley Weinstein points out upon his review of Hakeda's translations of Kūkai's treatises in 1974, the Tendai tradition was neglected altogether.<sup>129</sup> It is true that the majority of the *nittō hakke* also comprised of Shingon monks, but the accomplishments of Ennin and Enchin together makes up for their minority in number. These Tendai monks who travelled to China, brought back an extensive bundle of esoteric teachings of the Middle and Late Tang periods. Ennin spent eight years on the continent and his diary of the events of those eight years is one of the most significant source of Chinese Buddhist thought and art of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, since afterwards many of the temples he visited, images he saw, were destroyed. He also first-hand experienced the great anti-Buddhist persecution of 845.<sup>130</sup> In the research of Fugen Enmei bodhisattva this diary is crucial for the verification of the origins of one of its images.

The Shingon school 真言宗 is an esoteric school, but the Tendai school 天台宗 has four different aspects, and only one of them is esoterism. As Hazama points out, although the Japanese Tendai school was primarily based on the Chinese Tiantai tradition, focusing

---

<sup>127</sup> For more about the eight monks and their esoteric heritages see Takami 1978 – 1980.

<sup>128</sup> These lists are in Vol.55 of the *Taishōzō*: T 2161 – T 2176. The list of Annen 安然 (Tendai, 841?-915?) is also included here, who has not been to China, hence he is not one of the *nittō hakke*, but he made a comprehensive list of all their imported works, and also systemized them by their subjects. (Dolce 2011a)

<sup>129</sup> Weinstein 1974: 177-191.

<sup>130</sup> The importance is shown in the amount of research that has been targeted this diary. By 1955, Edwin O. Reischauer has already translated it to English and have written a separate volume on Ennin's life and works. (Reischauer 1955a, 1955b) In Japan Ono Katsutoshi's 小野勝年 four volume monograph is the most comprehensive and detailed study of the diary. (Ono 1964) The latest study of Valerie Hansen introduces how essential this writing is for the history of Buddhist art. (Hansen 2012)

on the *Lotus Scripture* (Ch. , Jp. *Hokke kyō* 法華經), but it was significantly changed in Japan.<sup>131</sup> We know that Saichō, founder of the Tendai school in Japan, studied esoteric teachings in Tang China in 805 from Shunxiao 順曉 (d.u.) at the Longxingsi temple 龍興寺,<sup>132</sup> as it has been shown in two “dharma-transmission certificates” (Jp. *fuōmon* 付法文), surviving in the Bishamondō 毘沙門堂 and Shintennōji temples 四天王寺 in Japan.<sup>133</sup> But even with this information, we know from the relationship of Saichō and Kūkai, founder of the Shingon school in Japan, that while the latter was initiated into both traditions of the esoteric teachings, Saichō was not, and received additional *abhiṣeka* from Kūkai in Japan.<sup>134</sup> Also, Chen argues that the esoteric tradition, with which Saichō have been affiliated with a lineage starting with Śubhākarasīṃha, while we know that Kūkai, through his master, Huiguo 惠果, as initiated into teachings which are traced back to Vajrabodhi and his disciple, Amoghavajra.<sup>135</sup>

The multifaceted Tendai tradition recognizes that Saichō transmitted not just the Tientai but the zen and esoteric teachings, and the bodhisattva precepts as well.<sup>136</sup> These four were all incorporated into what we call the Japanese Tendai school. Saichō was more enthusiastic about the discipline than his contemporaries, as Groner points out in his monograph about the Tendai founder. He acquired new ordinations in China which he petitioned to be sanctioned, thus to be able to ordinate monks on Mt. Hiei.<sup>137</sup> His ordination proposals were to be a radical break with traditional monastic discipline. In the beginning of the Heian period, the ordination of monks was still exclusively executed by the biggest of the Nara temples, the Tōdaiji 東大寺, as it was set out during the 8<sup>th</sup> century. This, and the administration of monasteries was what drove a wedge between Saichō and the eminent

---

<sup>131</sup> Hazama 1987: 101

<sup>132</sup> T 2379, vol. 74: 643c19 – 22. This document from 806 tells us that he was initiated into the three kinds of attainments (Jp. *sanshu shicchi hō* 三種悉地法, in the text it is called *sanbu shicchi hō* 三部悉地法). The three kinds of *siddhi* (complete attainment, supreme felicity) are the superior, which means to be born in the Pure Land of Vairocana, the middle means we will be reborn in one of the other Pure Lands (such as Amitābha’s Western Paradise); and the lower is to be born in the Sun Palaces among the Devas. (DCBT 1934: 62)

<sup>133</sup> Chen 1998: 21. Chen argues, however, that these certificates were forged in Japan by Saichō disciples and followers to legitimize his esoteric teachings in China. He did have to defend himself against the allegations of the Nara monks, who thought the value of Saichō’s Buddhist transmissions was dubious since he did not obtain them in the capital but in Yuezhou province.

<sup>134</sup> Abe 1995: 104.

<sup>135</sup> Chen 1998: 24.

<sup>136</sup> Hazama 1987: 101. These four traditions are usually abbreviated in Japanese as *en* 円 (Tientai teachings), *zen* 禪 (zen teachings), *mitsu* 密 (esoteric or ‘secret’ teachings), and *kai* 戒 (the bodhisattva precepts)

<sup>137</sup> Groner 2000: 107.

monks of the Nara six school. His dispute with Tokuitsu 徳一 (760?-840?) is especially famous.<sup>138</sup> He actively worked on the realization of his plan by first preparing an expansion of the Mt. Hiei temple complex with new constructions, which of course included a hall for the Precepts platform (Jp. Kaidan'in 戒壇院).<sup>139</sup> This shows his determination to have his own ordination platform far away from the Nara Buddhist institutions. Saichō's biography, written several year safter his death, states that he had abandoned the two-hundred and fifty Hīnayāna precepts by 818, remarking that at Mt. Tiantai in China, they had already received the three-fold bodhisattva precepts.<sup>140</sup> His Regulations in Six Articles (Jp. Rokujō shiki 六条式), and the other two petitions he sent to the court shows, however, that when it came to the case of presenting his proclamations to the imperial court, he was much more careful in his ways and words.<sup>141</sup>

In a study in 1987 Michael Saso describes the major doctrinal differences between the Shingon and Tendai esoteric practices, after he spent seven years practicing with a Tendai *ācārya*.<sup>142</sup> Even in 1987 Saso remarks that translations of Tendai esoteric materials are rare. The first and foremost difference lies in the way of transmitting the *mikkyō dharma*. In the Tendai school the tradition of oral transmission (Jp. *kuden* 口伝) is highly recognized.<sup>143</sup> He lists five aspects that differ in the Tōmitsu and Taimitsu esoteric practices:

1. the internal meditations and oral hermeneutics are different (but actually each differ within each branches of the two schools);
2. the order of the *mandala* meditations are reversed;<sup>144</sup>
3. the previous difference is due to different emphasis in the doctrines: the Shingon meditation is about *siddhi*, while the Tendai is about *bhakti*.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* 107-109. Tokuitsu was not only questioning Saichō's thoughts on the Buddha-nature, which turned into a debate on the bodhisattva precepts, but his critiques of Kūkai's new esoteric school (*Shingon shū miketsu mon* 真言宗未決文) are also famous.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.* 111. Groner cites the list of the proposed nine halls from the *Denjutsu isshin kai mon* 伝述一心戒文 (DDZ Vol.1: 533) and the *Hokke chōkō* 法華長講 (DDZ Vol.4: 750). The previous is the work of Saichō's disciple, Kōjō 光定 (779-858), the latter is attributed to Saichō himself.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.* 114; DDZ Bekkan: 100.

<sup>141</sup> DDZ Vol.1: 5-14. The three together are called the *Sange gakushō shiki* 山家学生式.

<sup>142</sup> Saso 1987: 235-246.

<sup>143</sup> For an earlier Japanese study about this see Ōkubo 1969; or Kojima – Asada – Watanabe 1974.

<sup>144</sup> Shingon: Jūhachidō 十八道 – Kongōkai 金剛界 – Taizōkai 胎藏界 – Goma 護摩 – Kanjō 灌頂; Tendai: Jūhachidō 十八道 – Taizōkai 胎藏界 – Kongōkai 金剛界 – Goma 護摩 – Kanjō 灌頂. (Saso 1987: 239)

<sup>145</sup> Siddhi meaning to put on the aspects of the buddhas encountered during the meditations, and bhakti meaning the devotional aspects of the encounter. (Saso 1987: 239)

4. the Tendai school is centred around the two aspects of the revealed dharma (*kengyō*) and the concealed dharma (*mikkyō*), as the Lotus mandala symbolizes the source of reason, while the Diamond world mandala the source of wisdom;<sup>146</sup>
5. the Shingon school puts emphasis on the philosophy of the Indian Yōgacāra<sup>147</sup> school, the Tendai on the philosophy of the also Indian Mādhyamaka<sup>148</sup> school.<sup>149</sup>

Saso also highlights that the oral tradition is based on the core Mādhyamaka teaching of emptiness, since the goal of the Tendai meditation is to empty the mind, to fill the heart with devotion, and to unite the entire self with the heart of the Buddha.<sup>150</sup> The differences are the direct result of the “education” or initiation of the founders: while Saichō did study esoteric doctrines, his first and foremost focus was on the Tendai teachings surrounding the Lotus scripture. Therefore, the Japanese Tendai could not have become a fully esoteric school, like the Shingon, but instead it combined the founder’s initiations into a twofold system. The Shingon school is also twofold, but the doctrines are esoteric all the way, since Kūkai expounded in his the esoteric Shingon school to be superior compared to other Buddhist dharma.

The cultural history of the early and medieval Shingon discourse was first summarised by Fabio Rambelli.<sup>151</sup> He also cites James Boon, who previously noted that Japanese *mikkyō* presents a uniform cultural entity when compared to Tantrism.<sup>152</sup> In the creation of the

---

<sup>146</sup> These are called the two wheels or two wings that make the Tendai vehicle move or fly in a straight path. Both is studied during the practice preceding the rite of ordination. (Saso 1987: 236.)

<sup>147</sup> One of the two major Mahāyāna philosophical schools (along with the Mādhyamaka) in India, known especially for its doctrines of “mind-only”, according to which the conception of the objects of experience as existing external to and independent of the consciousness perceiving them was regarded as the fundamental ignorance and the cause of suffering. The key doctrines were exposed mainly by two Indian scholastics of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, Asaṅga (Ch. Wuzhe, Jp. Mujaku 無著) and Vasubandhu (Ch. Shiqin, Jp. Seshin 世親). Major works include the *Yogācārabhūmi*, or the *Mahāyānasamgraha*. They offered detailed presentations and analyses of almost all of the important topics in Buddhist thought and practice, built upon an edifice deriving from meditative experience. Major differences between the two school include the debate whether all beings are destined for buddhahood, or some are stuck in a soteriological dead end. The texts of the school were widely influential in Tibet and East Asia, in the development of indigenous East Asian schools of Buddhism, including the mature schools of the Huayan 華嚴 and even Chan 禪. (PDB 2013: 1033-1034.)

<sup>148</sup> The Middle Way school. It derives from the Buddha’s first sermon in which he prescribed a middle path between the extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification. The founder is Nāgārjuna 龍樹, the ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> century philosopher. His major philosophical works, especially his *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, as well as the writings of his disciple Āryadeva 提婆菩薩, provide the *locus classicus* for the school. This school was highly influential in Tibet. The written works were also widely studied in East Asia, forming the basis of the “Three Treatises” school (Ch. Sanlunzong; J. Sanronshū 三論宗). The school is most renowned for its exposition of the nature of reality, especially its deployment of the doctrines of emptiness (Sk. *śūnyatā*) and the two truths (Sk. *satyadvaya*). (PDB 2013: 487.)

<sup>149</sup> Saso 1987: 239.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* 245.

<sup>151</sup> Rambelli 1994: 373-405.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.* 376; Boon 1990

exoteric-esoteric system (Jp. *kenmitsu taisei* 顯密体制), Kuroda Toshio refers to Kūkai's *Treatise of the Revealed and Concealed Two Teachings* (Jp. *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* 弁顯密二教論), to describe the complex medieval Buddhist system in Japan.<sup>153</sup> He writes that Japanese *mikkyō* differs from the Tantrism in India in the emphasis it places on rituals and prayers for worldly benefits and the protection of the country.<sup>154</sup> However, we have to remember that these features were already assigned to esoteric Buddhism in China as well. Rambelli also highlights the system-shaping Japanese lineages, with their figures, such as Saisen 最遲 (1025-1115), Jitushan 実範 (? -1144), or Kakuban 覚鑊 (1095-1143), whose treatises were directly responsible for the developments of Medieval *mikkyō* discourse in the first couple of centuries.<sup>155</sup> As he also points out, contemporary events were closely related not just to the general cultural milieu (the idea of *mappō* 末法), but also the need to acquire new sources of income and social support.<sup>156</sup>

However we call the esoteric teachings or texts created in different eras, the fact remains that until the Shingon school is organized in Japan, no framework had been established for the magical and mystical secret teachings. It can be explained again with the graduation of development of such teachings, and also with the viewing of the esoteric teachings as advanced Mahāyāna thought. From the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century during the Heian period a multitude of esoteric rituals were developed in Japan, many of them without precedents anywhere else. (One of them is the Fugen Enmei ritual, further examined in Chapter V – The Rituals.) Fortunately for us, these rituals were gathered and described one by one in ritual manuals, so we can compare them by esoteric schools and also their branches. Although esoteric Buddhism eventually declined in China, it enjoyed imperial favour for centuries in Japan, hence ensuring its survival and prosperity. Nevertheless, several different

---

<sup>153</sup> Kuroda 1975

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.* 433; Rambelli 1994: 378.

<sup>155</sup> Rambelli 1994: 381.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

branches were established in the Shingon<sup>157</sup> and Tendai<sup>158</sup> schools. Most of the division of the two Buddhist traditions happened during the Heian and Kamakura periods.

Many scholars stress that *mikkyō* became dominant in medieval Japanese culture, enjoying imperial and aristocratic patronage, building enormous temple complexes. With time, a special kind of connection developed between Tōmitsu and Taimitsu traditions, and the ruling families (imperial or aristocratic likewise). During the era, which scholars like to call the time of the retired and cloistered emperors<sup>159</sup> (Jp. *insei jidai* 院政時代<sup>160</sup>), the *monzeki* temple 門跡寺院 system<sup>161</sup> was constituted, which meant that the younger sons of emperors were sent to *monzeki* temples to become esoteric Buddhist monks.<sup>162</sup> After their ordination and initiation, they frequently performed rituals for their family members.

Despite the various lineage divisions, the many warring periods throughout the Muromachi period, and a serious attempt at the expulsion of Buddhism after the Meiji

---

<sup>157</sup> There are many branches and lineages in the Shingon school. There used to be thirty six at one point in the Kamakura period. Today, it can be divided into two kinds of branches, the old (Jp. *kōgi shingon shū* 古義真言宗) and the new Shingon school (Jp. *shingi shingon shū* 新義真言宗). The major branches of the old are the Ono 小野 and Hirosawa 広沢. Together they comprise the twelve lineages of the old Shingon school. The lineages of the Ono branch are the Kajūji ryū 勧修寺流, the Anjōji ryū 安祥寺流, the Zuishinin ryū 随心院流, the Rishōin ryū 理性院流, the Sanbōin ryū 三宝院流, and the Kongōōin ryū 金剛王院流. The lineages of the Hirosawa branch are the Ninna omuro ryū 仁和御室流, the Nishino in ryū 西院流, the Hojuin ryū 保寿院流, the Daidenbōin ryū 大伝法院流, the Ninnikusan ryū 忍辱山流, and the Kezōin ryū 華藏院流. The new Shingon school has two branches, the Tozan ha 豊山派 and the Chizan ha 智山派.

<sup>158</sup> The thirteen lineages are the Konpon Daishi 根本大師, the Jimon 寺門, the Sanmon 山門. The last one is divided into ten lineages, namely the Hōman ryū 法曼流, the Sanmai ryū 三昧流, the Anō ryū 穴太流 of the Tani ha 谷派, and the Renge ryū 蓮華流, the Inson ryū 院尊流, the Butchō ryū 仏頂流, the Ajioka ryū 味岡流, Chisen ryū 智泉流, the Kudoku ryū 功德流, and the Nashi no moto ryū 梨本流.

<sup>159</sup> Their full title was *Daijō hōō* 太上天皇, to distinguish them from the common retired emperors, called *Daijō tennō* 太上天皇 or *Jōkō* 上皇.

<sup>160</sup> Roughly between 1086 and 1192, although officially the last title holder was Emperor Reigen 靈元天皇 (1654-1687, r. 1663-1687)

<sup>161</sup> *Monzeki* (or *miyamonzeki* 宮門跡) can refer to a temple and the monk of the high ranking family, who was ordained there. The latter also obtained the name prince-monk (Jp. *hosshinnō* 法親王 or *nyūdō shinnō* 入道親王). The first of them was a Shingon monk called Shinnyo 真如 (? – 865?), the third son of Emperor Heizei 平城天皇 (774-824, r. 806-809), who became an *ācārya*, and was one of the ten great disciples of Kūkai's (Jp. *jū dai deshi* 十大弟子).

<sup>162</sup> There were *monzeki* temples in both esoteric traditions, the Shingon (e.g. Ninnaji 仁和寺, Daikakuji 大覚寺, Zuishin'in 随心院, Kajūji 勧修寺, Sanpōin 三宝院, Rengeōin 蓮華光院, Anjōji 安祥寺, etc.), and the Tendai (Enyūin 円融院, Shōrenin 青蓮院, Myōhōin 妙法院, Shōgoin 聖護院, Jissōin 実相院, and Enman'in 円満院) as well. Also, the Ichijōin 一乗院 and Daijōin 大乘院 of the Kōfukuji temple 興福寺, and the Tōnan'in 東南院 of the Tōdaiji temple 東大寺 were also *monzeki* temples among others.

restoration in 1868 (Jp. *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏棄釈), esoteric denominations still survive, many of their great temples strive even, in this somewhat declining age for religions.

## II.4. The Art of Esoteric Buddhism

In Buddhism most of the iconographies can be tied to one or more scriptures, however, some have been influenced by the indigenous cultures of the countries the teachings made way to. It was many centuries after Śākyamuni Buddha's death that the first anthropomorphic images of Buddhist deities were created in India in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. The appearance of these icons happened in two places simultaneously: in Gandhāra in the Northern (today Pakistan), and in Mathurā in the centre parts of India. The stylistic differences suggest no connection between these two regions whatsoever. From these beginnings, with the evolvement of the esoteric teachings, esoteric art was being shaped at least from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

As for the art of Buddhism and its esoteric school, it developed gradually into a vast pantheon of deities, buddhas, bodhisattvas and heavenly beings, most of which first appeared in India. With the expanding number of teachings there was a natural growth in the universe of deities as well, with the occasional absorbing of deities from other religions. Countless Hindu beings make their appearance in Buddhist context, usually after being subjugated to see the true teachings of Buddhism. Indian esoteric art mostly consists of cave temples and their statues or frescoes. Some of the major centres of Buddhism, such as Ajañṭā, Aurangabad, or Ellora, all have richly decorated Hindu, Buddhist and esoteric Buddhist temples.

One of the key elements of esoteric Buddhist art is the appearance of *mandalas*, which can be regarded as the visual representation of the Buddhist universe. There are extensively more studies about them than any other features of the esoteric teachings. Even though many local components were added to the teachings and art, *mandalas* never lost their significance. They were drawn, painted, used for set of sculptures and building plans as well. It is the Two

world *mandala* which is the main focus of the esoteric teachings. The Womb world and Adamantine world represent the esoteric cosmos of buddhas, bodhisattvas and all heavenly beings. They represent a philosophical and artistic difficulty, which was deepened in China and Japan with the appearance of the individual *mandalas* (Jp. *besson mandara* 別尊曼荼羅) of esoteric scriptures, rituals and deities.

Esoteric Buddhist art was rather late to appear in the course of the history of Indian Buddhist art, but spread much faster to other countries, since by then the interaction between these countries was assured. That may be the reason why the esoteric scriptures could arrive to China relatively early in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

#### **II.4.1. Indian Buddhist Art and the First Esoteric Depictions**

It is never easy to examine early art, not just because of the scarcity of surviving artworks and their generally poor state, but, as Susan Huntington points out, the removal from their original sites without proper recording of their find spots, makes it even more difficult to delineate them or put them in context.<sup>163</sup> In Indian Buddhist art, the identification of specific early Buddhist images is definitely a challenge because of their lack of remaining hands or (sometimes) heads, but even a fairly intact icon can prove to be difficult to be identified due to their sometimes undistinguishable early iconographies. Still, the appearance of the images with unique esoteric features can be discerned rather straightforwardly. Later historical events, however, decimated the arts of the prosperous Buddhist past, and many of the extant images are still sometimes described as seated or standing buddhas or bodhisattvas, without any proper identification.

Due to the gradual development of Mahāyāna thought, the appearance of its ideals in Indian Buddhist art is hard to pinpoint, especially in light of the various stylistic delineations which appeared in different regions of India – sometimes at the same time. The subject of this dissertation limits our investigation to those Buddhist sites which came in contact, or were associated with advanced (ultimately esoteric) practices between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>163</sup> Huntington 1985: 133.



centuries, namely from the appearance of probably esoteric related texts and iconographies to the second great wave of esoteric teachings arriving to (Song) China. The inquiry into later developments, mostly the controversial sexual practices, are fairly distant from the Japanese version of esoteric thought, therefore will be excluded here.

In general, Indian Buddhist art was always much dependent on the ruling monarchs favour, and, in most cases, also had to contend for that favour with the contemporaneous religious thoughts. It was usually the religious beliefs of the emperors or regional kings that decided the course of their patronage. As a result, the Hindu, Jain, Śaiva and Buddhist religious constructions were repeatedly revisited, advanced, and through the workers and artists, their styles, techniques interacted. It is not surprising therefore, that the Buddhist pantheon, especially the esoteric one, absorbed many “alien” deities of other religious traditions.<sup>164</sup>

The first centuries CE brought about many revolutionary artistic reforms, starting with the anthropomorphic depiction of the Buddha Śākyamuni. The Northern Indian Gandhāra and the Central Indian Mathurā regions were the first of the many centres where iconic (opposed to non-iconic or symbolic) images of the Buddha were made. The extant statues of buddhas and bodhisattvas can be regarded as the starting points of the rather different styles established in those regions, and later radiated towards other regions in their vicinities. Both spread during the Kuṣāṇa period (2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries), but the style of Bactria and Gandhāra became known as the Bactro-Gandhāra art, while the other, with various regions, is identified under the Gupta style from the Gupta period (4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries).

Not many artworks remain from the Kuṣāṇa period, so we start our investigation in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, since the Gupta style became highly influential even in later centuries. The Gupta art includes various stylistic manifestations in various regions under the famous imperial Gupta rule. One of them appeared in North-Central India (Sāñcī), the other in Northern India (Mathurā and Sārnāth). The Sāñcī stūpas from the different periods show that Buddhist activity and renewing efforts were revisited from time to time. During the 5<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> It is mostly the gods (Jp. ten 天) that arrived from other religions, but in esoteric Buddhism, the bodhisattvas or wrathful wisdom kings (Jp. myōō 明王) with multiple arms and heads can sometimes be traced back to one of these Indic deities. For example, Catherine Ludvik investigated the iconography of Benzaiten 弁財天, a common Japanese goddess, whose origins are that of the Indic god Sarasvatī. Catherine Ludvik 2007. *Sarasvatī: Riverine Goddess of Knowledge: From the Manuscript-carrying Vīṇā-player to the Weapon-wielding Defender of the Dharma*. Leiden: Brill

century many additions were applied to the already standing buildings. The iconographical program was more typically Mahāyāna, which indicates an increase in Mahāyāna practices at the site.<sup>165</sup> The four buddhas, placed at the four directions of the building, can be dated around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Their delicate and graceful manner, their cast-down eyes, and gently smiling face are the characteristics which show best the introspection and harmony of Buddhist thought.<sup>166</sup> The buddha images are flanked by two attendants on the right and left, and *vidyādhara*s above. The attendants can be identified as bodhisattvas at three of the reliefs, but seems to be Indra and Brahmā at the fourth one, which, according to Huntington, can be regarded as one of the earliest links between the bodhisattvas and the two Hindu gods.



**Figure 1. Standing Buddha statue, Jamālpur, Mathurā, mid-5th century**

After the Mathurā area was incorporated into the Gupta domain, a new, so-called Mathurā Gupta style developed on the bases of the previous, Kuṣāṇa period images. The characteristics of the new style can be seen on the standing buddha statue from Jamālpur, dated to the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 1). It is slenderer and more graceful in its body, which shows a slightly relaxed posed by the bending of the right leg. The halo can be paralleled with those of the new sculptures at the aforementioned Sāñcī site. The folds of the

---

<sup>165</sup> Huntington 1985: 197.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

drapery became much more emphasized but revealing the contours of the buddha's body by adhering tautly to it.<sup>167</sup>



**Figure 2. Buddha seated in *dharmacakra mudrā*, Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth, Ca. 475**

**Figure 3. Standing bodhisattva, Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth, Ca. 475**

**Figure 4. Standing buddha in *abhaya mudrā*, Archaeological Museum, Sārnāth, Ca. 475**

Some unearthed statues with epigraphs also help us pinpointing the emerging styles. Such is the case with the particular art of Sārnāth, where three dated sculptures, all consecrated around 475 (Figs. 2-4).<sup>168</sup> The zenith of the Gupta period art, as many scholars described it, shows long, slender bodies with finely executed details of robes, halos and faces. Their epigraphs also inform us that these icons were considered masterworks even in their own time. The slight sense of movement which eases the frontality of the statues, highlighted by Rosenfield, is owing to the subtle contrapposto with the weight of the body resting on the right hip.<sup>169</sup> One of the most striking characteristic of this style is that the mellow pleating of the Mathurā style drapery has completely disappeared and the non-pleated drapery, tightly fitting the body to the point that they almost become one, further enhances the feeling of relaxation and tranquillity. That the buddha figures wear clothes at all only become apparent from the hems of the drapery, which are indicated by the multiple finely carved parallel lines at the neck and wrists. The bodhisattva image differs with its wavy hair brushing the

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.* 201. Huntington argues that the previously unseen drapery folds were characteristic of the Bactro-Gandhāra style, thus she sees that the new Mathurā style unifies the two great traditions.

<sup>168</sup> For the epigraphs and their English translations see Rosenfield 1963.

<sup>169</sup> Rosenfield 1963: 14.

shoulders and put up in a high bun which is hidden behind a small seated buddha figure (Jp. *kebutsu* 化仏).<sup>170</sup> Also, the parallel thin lines across the upper torso and running down the thighs specifies the bodhisattva's different attire. The deity is portrayed as a young smiling boy with half-closed eyes, suggesting the inner tranquility as mentioned before with the buddha images.



**Figure 5. Vajrapāṇi, Sāñcī, early 5<sup>th</sup> century**

It is very hard to stipulate exactly when and where the first truly esoteric images were made. The transition of specific deities from Mahāyāna to esoteric teachings does not help our inquiry either. This is the case with the images of Vajrapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara. The former is now one of the principal deities in Tibetan and Japanese esoteric thought, and has always been associated with the (esoteric) vajra as its symbol. The latter however has greatly altered manifestations in esoteric teachings, and we can also pinpoint the earliest surviving images. So, in the case of Vajrapāṇi it is difficult to distinguish between the Mahāyāna and the esoteric images. One of his earliest extant icons, dated to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, is found in the previously examined Sāñcī site (Fig. 5). Evidence shows that there were Mahāyāna practices here from even earlier periods, and from the 5<sup>th</sup> century some modifications are seen in the iconography.<sup>171</sup> The broken Vajrapāṇi statue, a vajra-bearer bodhisattva, who is later depicted among the eight bodhisattvas in esoteric teachings, was found at the north

<sup>170</sup> The curls of hair, depicted as softly expanding towards the arms, seem to reoccur in the Japanese images of bodhisattvas, for example, on the Fugen Enmei painting of the Matsunoodera temple.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.* Huntington however sees these modifications only in form, but thinks they not reflect a real change in thought.

entrance of the Stūpa I, which is significantly his place at the mandala also. It was again in Sāñcī in this century that the custom of the placing Buddha images at the four sides of the *stūpas* began. The same type is seen in the Udayagiri (Orissa) *stūpa* (8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century). However, in the former case, the buddhas are standardized in their distinctive features (each is seated in *vajraparyāṅkāśana* and displays *dhyāna mudrā*), the latter shows four different seating and hand gestures.

The trend of cave temple excavations was reborn from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century and lasted until the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, when again it was replaced with the separately built stūpa and monastery buildings. One of the earliest and most intact still is the cave temple complex at Ajañtā. With its 28 caves it is one of the smallest, but researched of that era. The description of the caves will be restricted here to those which are of a later period and can be linked to the Mahāyāna or esoteric practices.<sup>172</sup>

The findings of Spink made him suggest that most of the caves were excavated during a very intense and brief period of time under Vākāṭaka rule, starting in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>173</sup> The centre caves are the earliest and later excavations were happening near the two extremes of the temples. There were also some alterations which can be linked to the gradual domination of Mahāyāna practices in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, for example the creation of shrine areas at the rears of the *vihāras* which is rich in iconic forms.<sup>174</sup> The depiction modes of the deities of especially in the caves of the later phase can be tied to the Gupta style of Mathurā and Sārnāth although the bodies become full with rounded proportions which was common in the central Indian and western Deccan styles (Fig. 6).<sup>175</sup>

---

<sup>172</sup> Earlier studies and publications about the caves include the well documented and photographed volumes (from 1930 to 1955) of Ghulam Yazdani (1885-1962). Later, the Ajanta caves were thoroughly and minutely researched by Walter M. Spink, whose monumental work was started to be published in 2005 (seven volumes are available so far). Our attention is drawn to the fourth volume which is dedicated to the paintings and sculptures of the caves.

<sup>173</sup> Spink 2007: 29. and Spink 2009: 106. He suggests that the carving and painting of images was abruptly abandoned around the end of 480 when the rule of the Vākāṭakas came to an end.

<sup>174</sup> Huntington 1985: 253.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.* 257.





**Figure 6. Entrance of Cave 19, Ajanṭā, 5<sup>th</sup> century**



**Figure 7. Bodhisattva, mural in Cave 1, Ajanṭā, ca. 477**

**Figure 8. Bodhisattva, mural in Cave 1, Ajanṭā, ca. 477**

The cave temples of Ajanṭā also provide some of the earliest extant examples of Indian paintings. The various surviving frescoes show a systematic iconographic program, meaning that it does not simply satisfy decorative needs. Wall paintings include scenes of buddhas, attendants and *jātaka* tales. Cave 1, being the Emperor Harisena's temple, is the most profoundly decorated one. The most famous and lavishly ornamented walls and ceilings can be found here, with buddhas, bodhisattvas and *jātaka* tales as well. As Spink points out, the aesthetic program of the cave is carried out with "royal" focus, i.e. the decorations all show important perquisites of kingship.<sup>176</sup> According to him, most of the murals can be dated to

---

<sup>176</sup> Spink 2007: 19.

477.<sup>177</sup> The two most superb and known paintings are those of the bodhisattvas flanking the entrance of the shrine antechamber (Figs. 7-8), whose identities are still hazy. Earlier researchers tended to identify them as Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi, but Spink sticks to his theory of them being Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi.<sup>178</sup> The sometimes missing or not clearly depicted attributes are but one part of the identification difficulties. The researcher also has to take into consideration the surroundings and their images which can be helpful – if their identification is right – since specific buddhas have specific attendant bodhisattvas. Nevertheless, the variety of styles, techniques and methods show unhesitating masters of painting, who seem to have preferred the modulations of colours rather than the use of line, with which they disregarded the laws of the physical world and created art that captured the very essence of Buddhism, i.e. the doubt of phenomenal existence.<sup>179</sup>

The next phase in the development of rock-cut temples is found at Kānheri, starting around the same time as the late excavations at Ajaṇṭā, and continuing in the 6<sup>th</sup> century as well.<sup>180</sup> The works were resumed, with modifications of older caves and cutting of new ones.



**Figure 9. Side panel on wall, Cave 90, Kānheri, ca. 500**

---

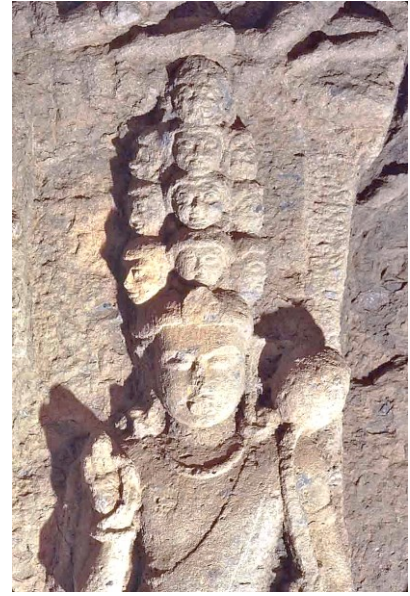
<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.* 29.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.* 39-40.

<sup>179</sup> Huntington 1985: 259.

<sup>180</sup> For the earlier phases of the excavations and their Buddhist significance, see Himanshu 1994; and for the 6<sup>th</sup> century art Leese 1983.





**Figure 10. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara as a buddha attendant, Cave 41, Kānheri, Early 6<sup>th</sup> century**  
**Figure 11. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 41, Kānheri, Early 6<sup>th</sup> century**

The style of the most extensive temple complex, with its more than a hundred temples, show connections with the massive forms of Ajanṭā, to the point that Huntington suggests that the artists may have gone to the new site after the works at the other had come to a halt in the end of the 480s.<sup>181</sup> The interesting point to our inquiry here lies in the new graphic forms found in Cave 90, the panels of side walls which show a new and complex iconography (Fig. 9). These panels can be regarded as early representations of mandalas, the visual illustrations of the Universal, which helps the initiate to understand and reintegrate with it. The principal deity is (*Sarvaid* “*Universal Knowledge*”) Vairocana,<sup>182</sup> whose image is repeated in the four corners. The five buddha icons can be interpreted as the antecedent to the five *dhyāna* buddhas of the esoteric thought, with Vairocana in the centre, but they are differentiated by their own specific hand gesture (*mudrā*) and seating (*vāhana*). Other than the emergence of a mandala-like relief another esoteric deity is depicted in Cave 41, namely the eleven-headed (*ekādaśamukha*) Avalokiteśvara attending a buddha image (Figs. 10-11). Dorothy Wong assumes that this was the first esoteric image to develop in South Asia.<sup>183</sup> On the one hand, it is important as proof of the existence of advanced Mahāyāna (early esoteric?) practices, since this deity is frequently depicted in later esoteric art of Nepal, Tibet, or China and Japan. On the other hand, however, this seems to be the only depiction extant

<sup>181</sup> Huntington 1985: 263.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> Wong 2008b: 1713.



in India, which proves that the image actually originated in Indic Buddhist Mahāyāna circumstances and is not a later invention of other Buddhist traditions.<sup>184</sup> The earliest explanation of the depiction of this eleven-headed image is the *Avalokiteśvara ekādaśamukha dhāraṇī* (Ch. *Foshuo shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou*, Jp. *Bussetsu jūichimen Kanzeonjin jukyō* 仏説十一面觀世音神呪經),<sup>185</sup> translated to Chinese by the Indian monk Yaśogupta 耶舍崛多 (510-579) around 570, it gives the four tiers of heads that we see on the Kānheri statue.<sup>186</sup> It is not unlikely that this clearly esoteric themed text – as it is listed in among the esoteric texts of Volume 20 of the *Taishōzō* – was already present in the cave temples since it was a place of advanced practices.

In late 6<sup>th</sup> century the temples of Aurangabad moved forward with the sculptural use of such panels, and made stylistic, iconographic advancements from the previous Vākāṭaka period. If we compare the Litany of Avalokiteśvara panel of Ajaṇṭā, Kānheri and Aurangabad, we can see how the bodhisattva's contours became taut with strong shoulders and full hips (Figs. 12-14). Some scholars tend to see the roots of esoteric Buddhism and its art in śaivist practices and images, while others suppose that it was a later influence that we see in Tantrism.<sup>187</sup> In the explanation of the Aurangabad cave temples Brancaccio also seem to observe connections between the iconography of the Avalokiteśvara image in Cave 2 and the Śaiva images of Elephanta (for example Śiva in the great cave).<sup>188</sup>

---

<sup>184</sup> More studies on this bodhisattva include Wood 1985; Soejima 1992; and Neville 1999.

<sup>185</sup> The text was discovered in Gilgit in Kashmir. For more about this see Volume 1 of Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.) 1984. *Gilgit Manuscripts*. New Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.

<sup>186</sup> T 1070, vol. 20: 150c22 – 151a19. The small wooden *honzon* statue described in the text is also supposedly the earliest example for a votive *homa* ritual. (Payne – Witzel 2015: 269.)

<sup>187</sup> For more about the relationship of Śaivism and Buddhism in the 6<sup>th</sup> century see Davidson 2002.

<sup>188</sup> Brancaccio 2011: 144-145.



**Figures 12. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, Ajaṇṭā, late 5<sup>th</sup> century**  
**Figures 13. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, Kānheri, early 6<sup>th</sup> century**



**Figures 14. Litany of Avalokiteśvara, Aurangabad, late 6<sup>th</sup> century**

As the last phase in the development of cave temples we must mention the Buddhist caves of the Ellora complex. It has already been an important Hindu centre from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and from the 7<sup>th</sup> century the Buddhist patronage has begun as well. The evolution of the architectural type of the *vihāras* reached the zenith here, especially in Cave 11 and 12 with the three-storied excavation. Their plane façade can be deceptive as the interior bears rich sculptural decoration, which is dated to the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 8<sup>th</sup> century. The decoration shows innovative Buddhist thinking, which shows the now common feature of the shrines on each floor, the buddha and bodhisattva attendants triad. Nevertheless, a new set of images

appear, which had not been present in cave temples before, namely the eight bodhisattva mandala (Sk. *aṣṭabodhisattva mandala*). This notion, which would become a centre motif in later esoteric teachings, appears in two ways: either in sets of four on each side of the central buddha, or in a nine-square diagram panel where they surround the central image (Fig. 15).

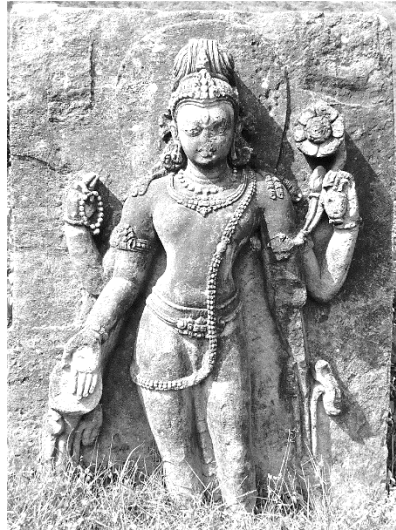


Figure 15. Nine-square diagram panel, Cave 12, Ellora, 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries

The connection between the Diamond realm *mandala* (Jp. Kongōkai mandara 金剛界曼荼羅) form and the arrangement of the latter, is without question. The images of these caves become easier to identify, for their attributes are in a better state and more distinctive. The Cave 12 at Ellora is seen as the zenith of Buddhist art activities in the Western Deccan region, and with its completion this activity came to a halt. In later centuries the growing esoteric (Tantric) movement become more and more conspicuous in other parts of India. This happened in Orissa in the Eastern part of India, which shows a distinct mode of art and architecture in four sites: Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Vajragiri. These side provide us with an enormous amount of buildings and sculptures during the four centuries when Buddhist activity was thriving, from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The first images in Ratnagiri from the 8<sup>th</sup> century show the remnants of the heavy and rounded bodies of the Vākāṭaka style (although there are no historical connections).<sup>189</sup>

---

<sup>189</sup> Huntington 1985: 445.



**Figure 16. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with four arms, Udayagiri, Orissa, late 9<sup>th</sup>-early 10<sup>th</sup> centuries**

The 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century sculptures of Udayagiri, such as the Avalokiteśvara image (Fig. 16), or the four buddhas with attendants on the four sides of the *stūpa* already show a slenderer body with more movement in their pose, and the deities are usually much more ornamented.

In later centuries tantric images became common and we can find many variants of deities in Orissa. The images attest to the most advanced forms of Tantrism being present in this area, where some of the most complex iconographies appear, which show the deeply involved thoughts of Indian Tantric Buddhism.

#### **II.4.2. Chinese Buddhist Art: The Spread and Transformations of Esoteric Images**

It took some centuries for the Buddhist thought to reach China in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but when it did, it set off a religious tradition which dominated religious thought in the land for many centuries to come, interacting with the already advanced local practices. Even though it was a strenuous task to transmit the Buddhist doctrines in the face of major social, cultural, and linguistic differences, Chinese and Indian monks evidently succeeded in executing it. The increase in the number of travelling monks from China to India, and vice versa, created a rapid growth in not just the textual corpus but in cultural activity as well, resulting in complex Chinese Buddhist temple sites. The Buddhist centres first developed in cave

temples and sacred mountain sites. Some of the cave temples were active for centuries, such as the Mogao caves (Ch. Mogaoku, Jp. Bakkōkutsu 莫高窟) near Dunhuang (Jp. Tonkō 敦煌), which lasted a thousand years.<sup>190</sup> The early excavations usually demonstrate the initially imported Mahāyāna thoughts, and explicitly esoteric images were made only from the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the appearance of the esoteric texts, which eventually resulted in some of the greatest Chinese esoteric centres. By then, the contact between China and India, the transmission of Buddhist texts was so significant, that the esoteric or advanced Mahāyāna practices arrived to China concurrently with their Indian developments.<sup>191</sup>

I chose to outline Indian art chronologically, since the Samantabhadra image and other esoteric images were the results of a development that took centuries, encountering various influences, and the scarcity of the images in the Indic environment until the 8<sup>th</sup> century limited our insight. Nonetheless, the large number of extant texts and images from the last two millennia of Chinese Buddhism made me realize how inefficient this chronological method would be in this case, so in the present subchapter I prefer discussing the popular Chinese esoteric images – which made their way to Japan – separately. With the selected images I would like to show how esoteric art was formed then made its way to Japan during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the Fugen Enmei images were also imported.

In order to discuss these esoteric images, however, some arguments need to be highlighted first. One of them, is concerning the distinction between Mahāyāna and early esoteric images, which is highly problematic in the case of early Chinese images, for the import of Buddhist texts and images was constant from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards. The translations of these texts, although they were usually at least centuries late, was carried out methodically and swiftly, owing to the almost constant imperial patronage. Gradually Chinese pilgrim monks, such as Faxian 法显 (337-422?) or Xuanzang, started bringing back most of the current Indian thought. Furthermore, the visiting Indian monks seem to have introduced the contemporary trends of Indian Buddhist centres to China. It is an

---

<sup>190</sup> There was Buddhist activity between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries here. From later sources (Li Junxiu's 李君修 book, *Fokan ji* 佛龕記 (*An Account of Buddhist Shrines*), written during the reign of Empress Wu (684-704) and an inscription on the northern wall of Cave 300) the beginning of these activities can be linked to a monk called Yuezun 樂尊 – and his later disciple Faliang 法良 – and the date 366. Yuezun's legendary vision of the many buddhas inspired the name of the Mogao grottoes to be Qianfodong 千佛洞, the Thousand Buddha Caves.

<sup>191</sup> For more about the relationship of the two countries, see the previous subchapters and Sen 2003.

unfortunate thing that most of the original Sanskrit version of the translated texts did not survive – the reasons of which I explained above – and even more unfortunate that we have the same problems in the case of Buddhist images.

There is the possibility that early esoteric texts were to some extent influenced by local religious traditions, this undoubtedly happened with the continuous interaction of Buddhist and Daoist notions and art. As Sørensen points out, the appearance of esoteric images was a longer and more complex process, involving imports from India and Central Asia, but also involved interaction with the local culture.<sup>192</sup> The origins of esoteric deities constitute another problem. The contact of the many religions of India has shown the evolution of some images, how they were altered during the course of history, and we have to acknowledge that many of the mature and popular esoteric buddhas, bodhisattvas and other various heavenly beings come from either a Mahāyāna school, or they are the result of their encountering local religious manifestations. Vairocana, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, for example, are key deities of the *Avatamsaka* tradition (Ch. Huayan zong, Jp. Kegon shū 華嚴宗)<sup>193</sup> before they take their prominent place on the esoteric pantheon. Therefore, their images may appear early in Chinese art, though those cannot be associated with later, advanced esoteric teachings yet.

Among other sites, the aforementioned Dunhuang excavations (the Mogao, Yulin and the Western Thousand Buddha caves together) provide the most coherent picture of the esoteric progress. Although many banner images survive from the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries displaying some of the esoteric forms of Avalakiteśvara (Eleven-Headed or Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed) or even Vajrapāṇi. However, esoteric materials proliferate after Chinese control is resumed in the area in 848 and in the late Tang period (848-907) many esoteric images appear in caves, as Orzech emphasizes.<sup>194</sup> Sichuan is another locale where esoteric art seem to have been flourishing, given the large number of surviving images.

---

<sup>192</sup> Sørensen 2011a: 255.

<sup>193</sup> The basic work of the Huayan school is the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (Ch. *Huayan jing*, Jp. *Kegon kyō* 華嚴經). The school was founded in China by Dixin Dushun 帝心杜順 (d. 640). Its chief deity is Mañjuśrī. The school was imported into Japan early in the Tang dynasty and flourished there. Its most important doctrine is the Dharma-nature (Sk. *dharmatā*, Ch. *faxing*, Jp. *hosshō* 法性), by which name it was also called. (DCBT 1934: 387)

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.* 333.

One of the earliest and most widespread Buddhist cults in China is that of Avalokiteśvara's. The bodhisattva was already prominent in Indian art, but its images reached their utmost appreciation and admiration in the eastern lands of Buddhism, namely China, and then Japan. The first icons appear during the Six Dynasties period (220-589). Later transformations with multiple heads and arms are generally labelled esoteric, started to be introduced in China during the Northern Zhou period (556-681), namely,

- Eleven-Headed (Sk. Ekādaśamukha, Ch. Shiyimian, Jp. Jūichimen 十一面);
- Six-Armed with the Unfailing Lasso (Sk. Amoghapāṣa, Ch. Bukongjuansuo, Jp. Fukūkensaku or Fukūkenjaku 不空羂索);
- Thousand-Armed (Sk. Saharabhujārya, Ch. Qianshou, Jp. Senju 千手);
- Horse-Headed (Sk. Hayagrīva, Ch. Matou, Jp. Batō 馬頭).

As we have seen, the Eleven-Headed image originated in India, but after its transmission to China in the 6<sup>th</sup> century it became significant there. Chun-fang Yu explains the meanings of the number of heads in his monumental monograph of the deity as the representations of the cardinal and collateral points, zenith, nadir, and the fixed point of the centre, the Indian symbolism of totality.<sup>195</sup> Its prominence and first appearance in the Mogao cave temples (Cave 321), and spread in the subsequent periods is owing to the patronage of Empress Wu 武后 (624-705, r. 684-705).<sup>196</sup> The *dhāraṇī* scripture that was the basis for the Indian image, as we have seen above, was first translated by Yasogupta in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, then by Atigupta in 654, Xuanzang in 656, and to ensure its esoteric career, by Amoghavajra in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>197</sup> No matter how many it is stressed that the sanctity of the image lies in the meticulous execution of the iconography, it seems that the descriptions in the texts were more or less simple guidelines for the artists, hence the arrangement of the eleven heads varies greatly in the Chinese temples. The famous Mogao grottoes treasure several images of this bodhisattva, all murals in various caves, excavated during the different eras from the Tang to the Northern Song dynasties. The wall paintings of Mogao Caves 321, 331, 334, 340 and Yulin Cave 23 can be dated to the Early Tang (618-712), while Mogao Cave 32 to the High Tang periods. The mural in Cave 76 is from the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century. Dorothy Wong distinguished two styles among the earlier images, which become apparent when we examine the arrangement of heads. The vertical type is influenced

---

<sup>195</sup> Yu 2001: 50.

<sup>196</sup> Wong 2008b: 1713.

<sup>197</sup> T 0901, T 1069 – T 1071.



by the Indian origins, the conical or tiara type arrangement is what Wong calls the Chinese style.<sup>198</sup>



**Figure 17. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 334, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century**



**Figure 18. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 321, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 8<sup>th</sup> century**  
**Figure 19. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 76, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 11<sup>th</sup> century**

The different varieties of the latter become common for Chinese examples fairly early, from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Figs. 18-19). However, there are some examples of the Indian styles as well, for example the Cave 334 mural, which is also an early example (Fig. 17). In painted images, murals or silk ones as well, the three main head – one in full frontal view, and one on each side in profile – arrangement is the standard, with some

<sup>198</sup> Wong 2008b: 1714.



exceptions.<sup>199</sup> An Indian precedent can be found among the three-headed depictions (*trimūrti*) of the union of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, like in one of the most famous depictions, the Maheśmūrti Śiva stone carving at Elephanta, India.<sup>200</sup> Besides the murals, early examples of sculptures also display the Chinese crown-like arrangement of the heads. Also, this iconographic type of heads will be later fused with the thousand-armed version.



**Figure 20. Six-Armed Amoghapāṣa Avalokiteśvara, Cave 384, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 9<sup>th</sup> century**

The second form of Avalokiteśvara to be introduced in China is with the Unfailing Lasso. The deity and its merits are explained in seven translated texts, the first of which was introduced in Chinese at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>201</sup> The clear identification of the Amoghapāṣa images is very difficult as it turns out, since there is no identifiable or inscribed images in China. Dorothy Wong writes about two possible examples, one at the North cave entrance of Leigutai 擂鼓台 at the Longmen grottoes 龍門石窟, and the flanking bodhisattva of the early Tang Cave 341 in Dunhuang.<sup>202</sup> She bases her suppositions on the earliest Japanese icons which are depicted with eight arms.<sup>203</sup> But the deity's most distinctive attribute, the rope (*pāṣa*) appears on either four- or six-armed Avalokiteśvara

<sup>199</sup> The examples of the Mogao caves 334, 331, 321, 32, and 76 all show this three main head arrangement. However, the silk painting in the Harvard Museum collection (Acq. nr. 1943.57.14), dated to 985, has one main head on top of which in conical style 5 and 5 heads are arranged, and then there is a Buddha head on them.

<sup>200</sup> The problem of the dating of the temple has been in the spotlight in recent years, and scholars tend to put the excavations and creations of sculptures between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century. For more about this image and its iconography see Collins 1988.

<sup>201</sup> The seven texts are all in Vol. 20 of the *Taishōzō*: T 1093, T 1094, T 1097, T 1096, T 1092, T 1095, T 1098.

<sup>202</sup> Wong 2008b: 1725; Wong 2008c

<sup>203</sup> Wong 2008b *Ibid*.

sculptures of the Pāla period in India, dated mostly to the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, which makes it even harder to identify any multi-armed Chinese Avalokiteśvara with missing attributes. One mural in Cave 384 (9<sup>th</sup> century) is another candidate, although it has six arms (Fig. 20), nevertheless it was identified as Amoghapāṣa by Duan Wenjie.<sup>204</sup>



**Figure 21. Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara, Cave 148, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 8<sup>th</sup> century**  
**Figure 22. Silk painting from the Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, in BM (Acq. nr.: 1919, 0101, 0.35), 9<sup>th</sup> century**

Avalokiteśvara is usually depicted with many arms even in India, though not as many as the thousand-armed version depicted in Chinese and Japanese art. As an explanation for the many different varieties of the multi-armed bodhisattva, especially in the Sichuan region, Angela Howard came to the conclusion that no image correspond perfectly to the requirements stated in the texts, assuming that the artists own interpretations are seen in those variations.<sup>205</sup> There are ten texts related to the Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed bodhisattva in Volume 20 of the *Taishōzō*.<sup>206</sup> The Thousand-Armed deity was also propagated by Empress Wu at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, as the Preface to the *Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* (T 1057, see Footnote) attests to it. It is written that at the Foshoujisi temple 仏授記寺 an Indian monk, called Damozhantuo 達摩戰陀 (d. 693),

<sup>204</sup> Wenjie 1994: 315.

<sup>205</sup> Howard 1990: 52.

<sup>206</sup> T 1056, T 1057A-B, T 1058, T 1059, T 1060, T 1061, T 1062, T 1064, T 1065, T 1068. (For their detailed examination see Yu 2001, Chapter 2 and 3.)

painted the image of this deity and, together with its *dhāraṇī* text, offered it to Empress Wu.<sup>207</sup> The Mogao caves alone present thirty seven examples of this image from different periods between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The earliest in Cave 386 can be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century (early Tang dynasty),<sup>208</sup> but the majority of the depictions are from the next 2 or 3 centuries.<sup>209</sup> The standard iconography shows the deity standing or sitting on a lotus flower, the main arms (about 40 of them) depicted fully with their attributes (Figs.). Also, some images include the other hands, but we only see the palms of those with an eye drawn in them, and they form a body halo-like shape around the bodhisattva (Figs. 21-22). In some cases the bodhisattva have eleven heads also (Fig. 22).

The last esoteric version of Avalokiteśvara with the horse head is the latest of all iconographies to become standard in China. It is of Vedic origins, since Hayagrīva Viṣṇu was portrayed with a horse head. As van Gulik contends, the Buddhist version was never depicted with the horse head in South Asia, although it became common in Tibet and East Asia.<sup>210</sup> In those South Asian images the deity is a common attendant to Avalokiteśvara or Tāra. Rob Linrothe mentions an early Indian image in Aurangabad which is possibly a Hayagrīva depiction.<sup>211</sup>

---

<sup>207</sup> T 1057A, vol. 20: 83c06 – c10.

<sup>208</sup> Yu argues that there are no extant images of the Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara image in Dunhuang made before the 9<sup>th</sup> century. (Yu 2001: 69.) Furthermore, from his citation of a private conversation with Angela Howard, who relates to an 8<sup>th</sup> century image she found in Tzuchung, Sichuan province as the earliest of this bodhisattva's images created in China, so they suggest that there were no images survive which was made before the 8<sup>th</sup> century. (Yu 2001: 521n22.)

<sup>209</sup> Murals of High Tang (712-781): Caves 45, 79, 113, 115, 120, 148, 172, and 214; Middle Tang (781-848): Caves 144, 231, 258, 360, and 361; Late Tang (848-907): Caves 14, 30, 54, 82, 141, 161, 176, 232, 338, and 470; Five Dynasties (907-960): Caves 99, 292, 294, 329, 332, 379, and 402.

<sup>210</sup> Van Gulik 1935: 24.

<sup>211</sup> The statue is in Cave 7, dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century. Linrothe 1999: 87.



Figure 23. Hayagrīva Avalokiteśvara, Anguosi, Changan, 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries

Van Gulik perceptively argues that the earliest text in which this deity appears was translated around 650 by Bodhiruci, however, Linrothe disagrees with him by expressing that Bodhiruci translated that text much later, in 707 (and the first of its chapters in 693).<sup>212</sup> So the text containing its iconography was only introduced in China at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The esoteric deities listed in the *Collections of Dhāraṇī Sūtras* (Ch. *Tuoluoni ji jing*, Jp. *Darani shū kyō*) 陀羅尼集經 (T 0901, translated by Atikūṭa, Ch. Adijuduo, Jp. Ajikuta 阿地瞿多) of the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, constitutes another evidence for the later import of this bodhisattva. The Eleven-Headed, Thousand-Armed and Unfailing Lasso forms of Avalokiteśvara are already included in this esoteric divine hierarchy, however, the Horse-Headed image is not to be found. One 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century Chinese example can be mentioned here: a stone sculpture was excavated from the Anguosi temple 安国寺 in Changan, a six-armed and three-headed sitting bodhisattva with a horse head on top (Fig. 23).

The Samantabhadra image became highly popular, especially during the Tang dynasty. As a common attendant bodhisattva to Śākyamuni and Vairocana buddhas in triad images, he was usually paired with Mañjuśrī. The association with the white elephant first became

---

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.* 88.



apparent in Chinese art, although probably owing to the influences of the Western lands. (I am closely investigating the course of the development of Samantabhadra's image in Chapter IV – The Images.)

Although no images of Samantabhadra of Long Life survive today in China, there is another bodhisattva that I have to describe here, for its name is connected to the topic of longevity. The decline of esoteric Buddhism may have effected Changan and other regions, but it clearly spared Dunhuang and its myriad caves. It seems that during the later Tang and Five Dynasties period (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries) special bodhisattva figures emerged, either through Western influences, or as a local feature. Some silk or hemp paintings from this time show a special variation of the bodhisattva (sometimes with the name of Avalokiteśvara) to whom people pray in order to have long life.



**Figure 24. Avalokiteśvara banner on hemp and its inscription, BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.149), d.u.**

**Figure 25. Avalokiteśvara banner, detail, BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.149), d.u.**

**Figure 26. Avalokiteśvara with flask on hemp, BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.201), late 9<sup>th</sup>-early 10<sup>th</sup> century**

**Figure 27. Avalokiteśvara with staff on silk, Musée Guimet (Acq. nr. EO 1143), d.u.**

The banners usually say,

南无延壽 (受) 命菩薩

*Praise to the Bodhisattva who prolongs life.*

The one and only study about these images have been written by Matsumoto Eiichi 松本栄一, published in his monumental work about the Dunhuang paintings of 1937.<sup>213</sup> He names nine examples, two in BM, four in the National Museum of New Delhi, and two in the collection of the Louvre.<sup>214</sup> According to the *International Dunhuang Project* (hereafter cited as IDP) website, there are more now in the collection of BM. As Matsumoto have already highlighted, there is no fixed iconography for this bodhisattva, most of the times it is a common bodhisattva attendant image with their hands put together in front of their chest (Jp. *gasshō* 合掌), such as some of the paintings in BM (Figs. 24-27) and New Delhi.<sup>215</sup> In the case of another British Museum example, the bodhisattva is identified as Avalokiteśvara, having a lotus flower in his raised right hand, and a flask in his lowered left (Fig. 26). The Musée Guimet (Louvre?) painting, shows the same deity holding a staff (Fig. 27). Therefore, other than their designations as prolongers of life, no iconographic connections can be determined between these paintings. No description of the image can be found in any of the surviving scriptures, even in the short text which has the same title as the bodhisattva. The *Sūtra of Prolonging the Life-span, Preached by the Buddha* (Ch. *Foshuo yanshou ming jing*, Jp. *Bussetsu enjūmyō kyō* 仏説延寿命経), now in the collection of BM (Acq. nr. S.2428), was included in the *Taishōzō* as well.<sup>216</sup> The text is an abbreviated version of the scene when the Buddha is about to die between the two *śāla* trees (Jp. *shara* or *sara sōju* 娑羅雙(双)樹), and the four kinds of followers (Jp. *shiju* 四衆)<sup>217</sup> gather around him, asking the Worthy One not to enter Nirvāṇa yet. The scene, where Ānanda, one of the closest disciples of the Buddha asks him not to die yet, is described in length in the third volume of the *Sūtra of Great Compassion* (Ch. *Dabei jing*, Jp. *Daihi kyō* 大悲経)<sup>218</sup> and is explained in many commentaries, such as the earliest, Kumārajīva's 鳩摩羅什 (334-413) commentary of the Wisdom scripture (Sk. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra*, Ch. *Mohe bore boluomi jing shilun*, Jp.

---

<sup>213</sup> Matsumoto 1937: 355-360.

<sup>214</sup> I could find one painting in the collection of the Musée Guimet (IDP).

<sup>215</sup> Matsumoto 1937: 356.

<sup>216</sup> T 2888, vol. 85: 1404a26 – c28.

<sup>217</sup> The four kinds of Buddhist followers are: priests (Sk. *bhikṣu*), nuns (Sk. *bhikṣuṇī*), and lay followers (Sk. *upāsaka* [masculine], *upāsikā* [feminine]).

<sup>218</sup> T 0380, vol. 12: 945-973. Translated by Narendrayaśas 那連提耶舍.

*Maka hannya haramitsu kyō shakuron* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經釋論 or shortly Ch. *Da zhidu lun*, Jp. *Dai chido ron* 大智度論).<sup>219</sup>

Contrary to some concepts, Buddhist activity did not cease during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties, and Northern Song dynasty which is proved by the lengthy diary of the Japanese monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081), and the 527 scriptures that he brought back to Japan. In the account of his visit to Mt. Wutai we find an interesting entry, the description of the Baozhangge tower 宝章閣 of the Zhenrongyuan temple 真容院 (1<sup>st</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month in 1072 [Kinei 熙寧 5]) includes two bodhisattva sculptures, each one *jō* 丈 and six *shaku* 尺 (ca. 4.08 m) tall, labelled Enjuō 延寿王 and Chōjuō 長寿王, both meaning Long Life-span King.<sup>220</sup> The explanations of Saitō Enshin's annotations guesses that the previous could be the aforementioned Enjūyō bosatsu, while the latter he surmises that it is the Chinese translated name of the pāli Dīghīti or Dīghati, the protagonist of the *Sūtra of the Long Life King* (Jp. *Chōjuō kyō* 仏説長寿王經, T 0161, vol. 03).<sup>221</sup> Without any iconographic descriptions we cannot compare these images to the somewhat earlier Dunhuang type of the Long Life bodhisattva.

The imported lists of Japanese monks give a clear picture of which images made their way to the islands. It also becomes clear which did not, although the reasons are not so obvious. Some of the depictions, which was common at Dunhuang in the caves of Middle and Late Tang times, seemingly have never reached Japan. Such is the case with the previously examined Long life bodhisattva images or the depiction of the Thousand-Armed Mañjuśrī. This manifestation of Mañjuśrī never appeared in the course of the history of Japanese esoteric Buddhist art.

---

<sup>219</sup> T 1509, vol. 25: 57-756. Written by Nāgārjuna 龍樹, translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什.

<sup>220</sup> Saitō 2010: 109. Original: 「天晴。辰一点参宝章閣焼香。下地薬師仏・十六羅漢。上階殿盧舍那仏丈六像座・繞葉上千釈迦・圍繞四千銀菩薩。次左延寿王菩薩丈六像。圍繞三千菩薩銀像。次右長寿王菩薩丈六像。圍繞三千銀菩薩。合一万菩薩。」

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.* 153.

### II.4.3. Esoteric Images in Japan – The 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Even though the exact date of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan is still debated, the surviving images of early Buddhist art give a clear picture of their progress from the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when the first imperially supported temples were established. Strong ties with the continent, the kingdoms of the Korean peninsula and the Chinese empire, resulted in a strong artistic influence as well, which defined the iconographic and stylistic developments of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century art in Japan.

After the 7<sup>th</sup> century *torijin* 渡来人, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century many Japanese monks went with the envoys to Tang China. Some of them returned bearing hundreds and thousands of texts and artworks. Genbō 玄昉 (? -746) was one of these monks, who brought back to Japan a legendary amount of more than five thousand treasures – texts and images as well – which was also recorded in the *Shoku nihongi* 続日本紀, one of the earliest surviving official histories of Japan.<sup>222</sup>

Similarly to China, Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva was one of the earliest to be transmitted to the latest land where Buddhism would take roots. The art of the Asuka 飛鳥時代 (550-645) and Hakuho periods 白鳳時代 (645-710) was mostly created by immigrated Korean masters of Buddhist art, so the majority of the sculptures surviving from these decades are marked by their craftsmanship. Such statues are the so-called Guze Kannon 救世観音, or the long debated Yumedono Kannon 夢殿観音. The first Great Buddha (Jp. *Daibutsu* 大仏) of the Asukadera temple 飛鳥寺 in Asuka, is another example of these initial images.

The numerous imported images from Tang China are another proof of the thriving relations between the continent and the islands. China's still ongoing connections with India resulted in the rapid travel of the newest of teachings, such as the advanced Mahāyāna and first esoteric scriptures. The same time that Xuanzang, for example, came back safely from India and was celebrated in the Tang capital of Changan in 645, the Wakakusadera 若草寺, as the Hōryūji was called initially, was already established, although its most famous hall,

---

<sup>222</sup> Fascicle 16. 《天平十八年（七四六）六月己亥【十八】》。己亥。僧玄昉死。玄昉俗姓阿刀氏。靈龜二年、入唐學問。唐天子、尊昉。准三品、令着紫袈裟。天平七年、隨大使多治比真人成還歸。齋經論五千余卷及諸佛像來。皇朝、亦施紫袈裟着之。尊為僧正。安置內道場。



the Kondō 金堂 ('Golden Hall,' the name of the main hall), was probably constructed a couple of decades later, between 690 and 710, according to latest researches.<sup>223</sup>



**Figure 28. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, TNM, 665?**

**Figure 29. Nine-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Hōryūji temple, 719**

**Figure 30. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara mural, Hōryūji temple, late 7<sup>th</sup> century**

It seems that again the Eleven-Headed image of Avalokiteśvara is the earliest of the esoteric images to arrive to Japan. There are some imported, small scale sculptures in Japanese collections to attest to this fact. Most of these however can be dated to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century or do not have all of the heads, like the famous Nine-Headed Avalokiteśvara statue, presented to the Hōryūji in 719 (Fig. 29). If the statue in the TNM collection is correctly dated to 665, which is still debated, then it makes this Indic style image in the earliest depiction of this Avalokiteśvara to arrive to Japan (Fig. 28).

The sets of murals in the Hōryūji Kondō constitute one of the earliest examples of Buddhist painting in Japan. The clear Indian and Chinese influence is not only seen in stylistic examinations but shows in the iconographic program as well. The sets of Buddhas

<sup>223</sup> Wong 2008a: 131.

and bodhisattvas, their arrangements, garments and attributes are seen in many wall paintings at Dunhuang.<sup>224</sup> It is not surprising then that the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara also makes an appearance here (Panel 12, Fig. 30). The basis for this image must have been the many versions in Dunhuang, since the earliest record of its *dhāraṇī* scripture being chanted is from 734, which is also fairly early.<sup>225</sup> The two-armed bodhisattva has the same conical style arrangement of the heads. Two characteristics would become standard in later Japanese images, one is the number and attributes of arms. The right arm is usually stretched next to the right thigh, showing the boon giving mudrā, and the left is raised up to the shoulder, holding a lotus flower. The latter sometimes also shows a flask. Another common feature for later Japanese depictions is the missing two heads from the side of the main one.<sup>226</sup> Also, we see a completely different development of this image, compared to its Tibetan counterparts. Besides the Chinese tiara like arrangement of the heads, the usual number of arms is two, rarely four, and the six- or eight-armed examples of China or Tibet is not present in Japanese Buddhist art.

---

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.* Wong compares the Hōryūji murals with the various figures found in walls of Caves 71, 220, 322, , 329 at Dunhuang. The colouring may differ, but the postures, the styles of halos, the garments and even the orientations of figures show palpable connections between the two Buddhist sites. Wong went as far as pointing out the influence of the most famous Indian murals at Ajanta, especially with the Avalokiteśvara image on Panel 6, the Western Pure Land of Amitābha.

<sup>225</sup> DNKM vol. 1: 583-584.

<sup>226</sup> There are some examples for that arrangement as well, such as the Eleven-Headed Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara statue at the Hosshōji temple 法性寺 in Kyoto, but the standard image does not have those two heads on the main level.



**Figure 31. Thousand-Armed, Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Tōshōdaiji temple, Nara, late 8th century**



**Figure 32. Thousand-Armed, Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara, Hosshōji temple, Kyoto, ca.934**

The Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara scripture also made its way to Japan relatively early. The first record of the copying of the text is from 737.<sup>227</sup> A couple of years later we see an example for its reading event led by a monk called Gyōshō 行聖 at the Yugeji temple 弓削寺.<sup>228</sup> There are not many examples of its images from the Nara period. There is the famous sculpture of the Tōshōdaiji temple 唐招提寺 in Nara (Fig. 31), which temple was founded by the Chinese monk Jianzhen 鑑真 (688-763), after he successfully crossed over to Japan in 754 and brought with himself Chinese monks who brought Chinese sculpture techniques with them. The image is also dated to the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. The Thousand-Armed image, however arrived a couple of years before the Chinese monks: we have a written source about a statue in a *zushi* from 752.<sup>229</sup> The Tōshōdaiji statue is the only surviving image which really has one thousand arms carved (only forty two went missing in the past thirteen hundred years). The common depiction would develop into a forty-two-armed variant in Japan. The combination of the Thousand-Armed and Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara image, also present in Chinese art, would become another fairly common type of depiction in Japan in later centuries.

<sup>227</sup> DNKM vol. 2: 25.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.* 324-325. The origins of the temple is ambiguous, and today only the remains are left in Osaka. Nothing is known about the monk.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.* vol. 12: 256. 「千手千眼并一軀」



Figure 33. Amoghapaśa Avalokiteśvara, Sangetsudō, Tōdaiji temple, Nara, 8<sup>th</sup> century

In the many Nara period halls of temples we find another form of Avalokiteśvara, already examined in Chinese settings: the image of the bodhisattva of the Unfailing Rope. The most representative image of this deity is found in the Sangetsudō 三月堂 of the Tōdaiji temple 東大寺 (Fig. 33), one of the most prominent temples in the Nara capital. The earliest mention of its scripture is from the same record as the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara of 734, when a *Kensaku darani* 絹索陀羅尼 was also chanted.<sup>230</sup> Wong used the Tōdaiji image for identification of Chinese examples of this image. The bodhisattva is carved with eight arms, the uppermost ones shown put together in front of his chest (Jp. *gasshō* 合掌), and the rope is held in the third left arm.

---

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.* vol. 1: 583-584.

#### II.4.4. Systematized Esotericism and its Art in Japan from the 9<sup>th</sup> Century

It was not only texts and teachings that the 9<sup>th</sup> century Japanese monks brought back with them from China. Fortunately for us, many of their list of imported works survive, so it is easy to check exactly what entered Japan during those times. Kūkai was the first to import the images of the two world *mandalas*, as we can read in his *Goshōrai mokuroku* 御請来目錄:<sup>231</sup>

*The Womb Treasure Mandala of the Mahāvairocana the Great Mercy, one painting, seven stripes (of cloth), one jō and six shakus* 大毘盧遮那大悲胎藏大曼荼羅一鋪七幅一丈六尺

*The Womb Treasure Mandala of the Great Mercy, one painting* 大悲胎藏法曼荼羅一鋪

*The Womb Treasure Mandala of the Great Mercy Samādhi, one painting, three stripes (of cloth)* 大悲胎藏三昧耶略曼荼羅一鋪三幅

*The Diamond Realm Nine Assemblies Mandala, one painting, seven stripes (of cloth), one jō and six shakus* 金剛界九會曼荼羅一鋪七幅一丈六尺

*The Diamond Realm Eighty-one Deity Great Mandala, one painting, three stripes (of cloth)* 金剛界八十一尊大曼荼羅一鋪三幅<sup>232</sup>

Ten Grotenhuis likened the spread of the *mandalas* to that of the banyan tree, pointing out the *mandalas* which got to Japan, although originally came from India, they were nurtured in Chinese culture, and reaching Japan they again inspired new mandalic forms that have no apparent parallels on the continent.<sup>233</sup> *Mandalas* were used in meditation, they were a device, an aid for visualization. In Japan the word *mandala* was applied in various ways, they were also representations of paradises, depictions of shrines, and with time a special kind of *mandala* developed for individual deities and even scriptures. Although it was Saichō who performed the first official esoteric initiation ritual (Jp. *kanjō* 灌頂) in 805, but as he was always reminded later, he gained only partial initiation into the esoteric dharma in China, and he was eventually initiated into the Adamantine and Womb world *mandalas* by Kūkai in 812. The latter started performing rituals for the safety of the state in 810, just like Amoghavajra in the Tang court half a century earlier.

---

<sup>231</sup> T 2161, vol. 55: 1060–1066. The list contains 142 Chinese translations of scriptures, 42 Sanskrit incantation texts, 32 commentaries, 10 paintings, including mandalas, 9 ritual implements, and some other relics.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.* 1064b11–16.

<sup>233</sup> Ten Grotenhuis 1999: 1.



Kūkai's doctrines were centred on the Two world *mandalas*.<sup>234</sup> After he got permission to build a temple on Mount Kōya 高野山 in 816, construction started in the following years and the temple was named Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺, or *Vajra* (Adamantine) peak, which was encircled by eight peaks, the eight petals of the Womb world mandala, thus symbolically the Womb world was embracing the Diamond world of wisdom.<sup>235</sup> Although the original *mandalas* imported by Kūkai were lost, but a possibly faithful copy remains in the Jingoji temple 神護寺, made in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (the paintings survive in bad conditions).<sup>236</sup> Another early and polychrome example of the pair is preserved in the Tōji temple, dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Figs. 34-35).<sup>237</sup> In Japan the two world *mandalas* would be installed on the Eastern and Western walls from the altars of esoteric temples.

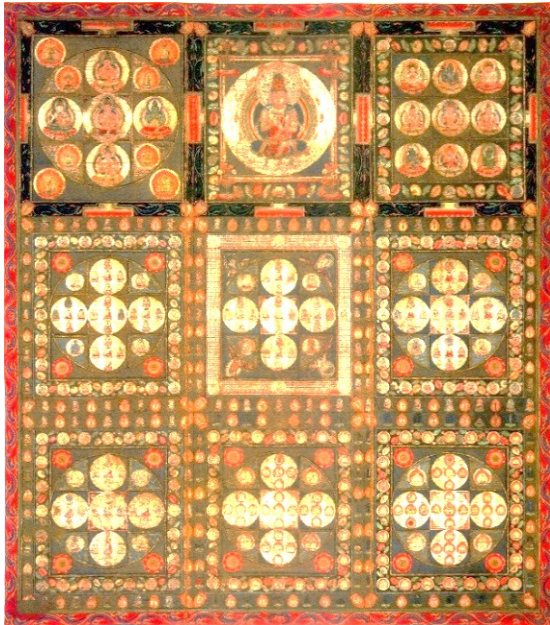


Figure 34. Adamantine world *mandala*, Tōji temple, Kyoto, 9th century (NT)

Figure 35. Womb world *mandala*, Tōji temple, Kyoto, 9th century (NT)

The lists and encounters of Japanese monks who travelled to Late Tang China after the 845 incident, testify again that esoteric Buddhism and its art are still flourished throughout China. Enchin obtained initiation into the Adamantine world at the Qinglongsi

<sup>234</sup> Kūkai had specific notions about esoteric art. For more about his thoughts see Winfield 2013, esp. Chapter 3: 66-104.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.* 79.

<sup>236</sup> This is the famous Takao mandala 高尾曼荼羅, two enormous silver and gold paintings on dark blue damask. It was the Jingoji temple where Kūkai was first appointed as abbot in 809.

<sup>237</sup> Yanagisawa Taka dated the paintings to be created between 859 and 880. (Yanagisawa 1982: 123-133.)

monastery 青龍寺, and also commissioned a set of large *mandala* paintings on the order of the Japanese Emperor Montoku 文徳天皇 (827-858, r. 850-858).<sup>238</sup>



**Figure 36. Maṇḍala of the Honoured One Victory, NNM (Acq. nr. 1107-0), 13<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)**

The *mandalas* of the individual deities, such as the Fugen Enmei *mandala*, are usually mandalic depictions of one of the hundreds of deities from either of the Two world *mandalas*. These are usually used in rituals of individual deities (*bessonhō*) for protection and other benefits, such as longevity. As Ten Grotenhuis emphasizes, some of the depictions are based on texts, some are not, and many include elements not found in those texts.<sup>239</sup> Most of these *mandalas* are included and described – usually with an example – in one of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>

<sup>238</sup> Ten Grotenhuis 1999: 85. Ten Grotenhuis contends that this set of mandalas could have been influenced by the Dunhuang artistic developments, since after the Tibetans were expelled from the oasis in 848, the elder brother of the newly appointed imperial commissioner of the region, Zhang Yitan 張議潭 sent scriptures, commentaries and artworks as a tribute to Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 846-859), who tried to reinstate Buddhism after the persecution of Emperor Wuzong. She suspects that the difference in style of the Tōji paintings can be the result of being the copies of the mandalas which were brought back by Enchin.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.* 96.

century iconographic manuals like Shinkaku's 心覚 (1117-1180) *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, Kakuzen's (1143-1217?) *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 (both Shingon), or Shōchō's 承澄 (1205-1281) *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 (Tendai). In some cases, the drawings of these compendia are the only remaining extant version of those individual *mandalas* – like the depictions of the Fugen Enmei mandala. The *besson mandalas* commonly borrow elements from the Two world *mandalas*, such as the eight petal composition of the Womb world *mandala* seen on the *Mandala of the Cranial Protuberance* (Sk. *Mahoṣṇīṣacakra mandala*, Jp. *Daibutchō mandara* 大仏頂曼荼羅) of the Minami Hokkeji temple 南法華寺 in Nara, or the great Moon disk (*gachirin*) with the eight deities around Mahāvairocana buddha of the Diamond world *mandala* on the *Mandala of the Honoured One Victory* (Sk. *Vijaya mandala*, Jp. *Sonshō mandara* 尊勝曼荼羅) of the NNM (Fig. 36).



### III. The Scriptures

The texts that are directly linked to Fugen Enmei bodhisattva and the Fugen Enmei ritual were translated to Chinese during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are also other scriptures which are related to some kind of notion of longevity, but are not in any connection to them. The list of all the *sūtras* linked to the notion of *jani-tam*, in other words the increasing of the life-span, was given by Hatsuzaki Shōjun in the 1960s, a professor of esoteric Buddhism, teaching at the time at the Shuchiin University 種智院大学 in Kyoto Prefecture.<sup>240</sup> As the English title suggests, Hatsuzaki was researching the *dhāraṇīs* in the *sūtras* that expound the concept of *jani-tam*.<sup>241</sup> He divides the *sūtras* in three groups according to the place where the sermons happen.<sup>242</sup> The scriptures that are related to Fugen Enmei are, as follows:

#### 1. *Sūtras* of the sermons by the river Ganges:

- a) *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Assembly of the Buddhas* (Jp. *Shobutsu jūe darani kyō* 諸仏集会陀羅尼經)<sup>243</sup>
- b) *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span of All the Tathāgatas, Preached by the Buddha* (Jp. *Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō* 仏説一切如来金剛寿命陀羅尼經)<sup>244</sup>
- c) *Sūtra of the Most Excellent Adamantine Dhāraṇī of Samantabhadrayū, Empowered by the Light of all the Tathāgatas, Preached by the Buddha* (Jp. *Bussetsu issai sho nyorai shin kōmyō kaji Samantabhadra enmei kongō saishō darani kyō* 仏説一切諸如来心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀

---

<sup>240</sup> His studies were published both in Japanese and English. The Japanese version is Hatsuzaki Shōjun 初崎正純: *Enmeihō ni kan suru bukkyō kyōten no kenkyū* 延命法に関する仏教經典の研究, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究, vol. 15, nr. 1, 1966, pp. 225-229. The English version was published two years later. Shōjun Hatsuzaki: A Study of the Dhāraṇī in the Jani-tam, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究, vol. 16, nr. 2, 1968, pp. 55-60.

<sup>241</sup> This *jani-tam* concept may be Hatsuzaki's translation from the Tibetan texts. I base this idea on the fact that its definition is not given in any Sanskrit dictionary. The Monier-Williams dictionary of Sanskrit words only gives us separate meanings, *jani* being "birth, i.e. life", deriving from the root  $\sqrt{\text{jani}}$ , meaning "being born" and *tam* from the root  $\sqrt{\text{tam}}$ , meaning "wishing, desiring." (*Monier Williams Online Dictionary*, <http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/monier/>)

<sup>242</sup> Hatsuzaki 1968: 55-56. He distinguished between the sermons under the *pippala* tree, on the bank of the river Ganges, and on top of Mt. Sumeru. Our scriptures only belong to the two latter groups, so we will not be examining the *pippala* tree sermon texts.

<sup>243</sup> T 1346, vol. 21: 858-859. Translated by Devaprajñā 提雲般若 (active in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>244</sup> T 1135, vol. 20: 578.

羅尼經)<sup>245</sup>

- d) *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of Avoiding Untimely Deaths* (Jp. *Sokujo chūyō darani kyō* 息除中天陀羅尼經, hereafter cited as the *Sokujo kyō*)<sup>246</sup>

2. *Sūtras* of the sermons at the top of Mt. Sumeru:

- a) *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span* (Jp. *Kongō jumyō darani kyō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經)<sup>247</sup>  
b) *Ritual Instructions of the Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span* (Jp. *Kongō jumyō darani kyō hō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經法)<sup>248</sup>  
c) *Ritual Procedure of the Dhāraṇī Spell of the Adamantine Life-Span* (Jp. *Kongō jumyō darani nenju hō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經念誦法)<sup>249</sup>

In this dissertation I am examining five of the above introduced scriptures, the four adamantine life-span texts and the Fugen Enmei *sūtra*, and quote the remaining two texts, if it is necessary. The five texts are all possible translations of two of the great Indian esoteric masters of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. The first group consists of texts that are very close in their contents and their protagonists, also, the sermon, described in them, is the same. The second group contains similar scriptures, and at first glance it seems that they were either abbreviated, or on the contrary, enlarged in their contents, after an initial prototype was written. We will see in the historical examination of the texts that it was actually the first case.

### III.1. The Texts in Esoteric Context

The five texts were probably imported from India, but without knowing of any surviving sources there, we cannot be certain about it. With the gradual decline of esoteric Buddhism in China we only have the Japanese sources to put together the history of the texts,

---

<sup>245</sup> T 1136, vol. 20: 579-580.

<sup>246</sup> T 1347, vol. 21: 860. Translated by Dānapāla 施護 (? - ca. 1017).

<sup>247</sup> T 1134B, vol. 20: 577-578.

<sup>248</sup> T 1134A, vol. 20: 576-577.

<sup>249</sup> T 1133, vol. 20: 575-576.

and cannot make any comparison to see what could have or not have been altered in Japan. The texts – and the rituals, images tied to them – had an exceptional career in Japan, but seem to be absent – at least today – in other Buddhist traditions.<sup>250</sup>

Unfortunately, none of the texts have their original versions in either Sanskrit or Tibetan. Three of the five texts appeared very early in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, attributed to Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, and since the scriptures appeared in China after they arrived in 720 to the capital, it is quite possible that they brought the texts with themselves (probably from India). These three are the *Kongō jumyō darani nenju hō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法 (cited hereafter as *Nenju hō*), the *Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō* 仏説一切如来金剛壽命陀羅尼經 (cited hereafter as *Issai kyō*), and the *Kongō jumyō darani kyō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經 (cited hereafter as *Darani kyō*). The *Kongō jumyō darani kyō hō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經法 (cited hereafter as *Kyō hō*) and the *Fugen Enmei Sūtra* are only mentioned in Japan, so their origins are unclear.

The texts also survive in the different Chinese, Korean and Japanese canons that are still in existence.<sup>251</sup>

1. *The Fangshan Stone Sūtras* 房山石經
2. *The Kaibao Canon* 開寶藏
3. *The Chongming Canon* 崇寧藏
4. *The Pilu Canon* 毘盧藏
5. *The Yuanjie Canon* 円覺藏 or *Zifu Canon* 資福藏
6. *The Zhaocheng Canon* 城金藏
7. *The Qisha Canon* 磧砂藏
8. *The Tripiṭaka Koreana* 高麗藏
9. *The Puning Canon* 普寧藏
10. *The Zhiyuan Record* 至元錄
11. *The Hongwu Southern Canon* 洪武南藏
12. *The Yongle Southern Canon* 永樂南藏
13. *The Yongle Northern Canon* 永樂北藏
14. *The Jiaxing Canon* 嘉興藏
15. *The Qing Canon* 隆藏
16. *The Reduced Print Canon* 縮刻藏
17. *The Manji Canon* 卍正藏

---

<sup>250</sup> Determining the degree of their presence or absence in other Buddhist traditions would involve a thorough research of the Chinese, Tibetan, and Sanskrit extant scriptures, text collections of temples and museums, which is left to a future study.

<sup>251</sup> For a detailed description of the canons see Wu – Chia 2014.

18. *The Taishōzō* 大正藏
19. *The Buddhist Tripitaka* 仏經大藏經
20. *The Chinese Tripitaka* 中華藏
21. *The Newly Compiled Manji Canon* 新纂已統藏經
22. *The Edition of Nanjō Bunyū* 南条文雄編号

The *Nenju hō* and the *Issai kyō* are included in most of the above listed canons, except for the *Kaibao* and the *Newly Compiled Manji Canons*. However, the remaining two adamantine life-span texts are not to be found in any of the *tripitakas*, but the *Taishōzō* (text numbers above), the *Buddhist tripitaka* (Nos. 1447 and 1448) and the *Newly Compiled Manji Canon* (Nos. 150 and 151), whereas the *Fugen Enmei sūtra* is only comprised in the *Taishōzō* (see number above) and the *Buddhist tripitaka* (No. 1769).<sup>252</sup>

The Nanjō catalogue, being the first English canon where the adamantine life-span texts appear, also provide us with some additional information. The *Nenju hō* (No. 1391) is found among the *miscellaneous Indian scriptures*,<sup>253</sup> while the *Issai kyō* (No. 960) is designated as a *Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna scripture added to the canon during the 10<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries*.<sup>254</sup> Knowing that the scripture appears in 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century catalogues in China and Japan, we can contradict this placement. At the description of this text Nanjō also quotes the work of a 17<sup>th</sup> century Chinese monk, Zhixu 智旭 (1599-1655), classifying it as the abbreviated version of the *Shobutsu jūe darani kyō* (cited hereafter as *Shobutsu jūe kyō*),<sup>255</sup> which was translated by Devaprajñā (Jp. Daiun hannya 代雲般若, d.u.) at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>256</sup>

---

<sup>252</sup> The *Taishōzō* was compiled in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1924-1932), and is mainly based upon the printed *Tripitaka Koreana*, the *Kōrai daizōkyō* 高麗大藏經. It is interesting why the *Fugen Enmei* scripture was included, since before this tripitaka it was not part of any of the Chinese Buddhist canons, but we do know that the Japanese editors<sup>252</sup> also used the scriptures and writings from all regions of Japan. The *Buddhist Canon* text is identical to the previous text. The *Buddhist Canon* follows the *Pinjia Canon* 頻伽大藏經 (Ch. Pinjia da zangjing),<sup>252</sup> and was compiled in the 1970-1980s, so this text was probably included as it was preserved in the *Taishōzō*.

<sup>253</sup> Nanjō 1883: 293.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.* 181.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.* 310.

<sup>256</sup> It is undeniable that there are similarities between the two texts, but the difference in the style of translation is apparent. See below a more detailed analyses.

### III.1.1. The Scriptures in China

The first translation to appear in China was the *Nenju hō*, which is listed among Amoghavajra's newly translated works in Zhisheng's above mentioned *mokuroku* of 730:

大唐不空三藏新譯衆經論及念誦儀軌法等目錄 (...) <sup>257</sup>

金剛壽命念誦經 一卷三紙<sup>258</sup>

The catalogue of scriptures, commentaries, and ritual procedures newly translated by the High Tang śrāmaṇa Amoghavajra (...)

*The Ritual Procedure of the Adamantine Life-span*, one fascicle, three pages

The *Nenju hō* is cited then again in Amoghavajra's list of translated works presented to Emperor Daitsung's 太宗 birthday in 771, this time with a certain *Kongō jumyō darani kyō*:

金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷<sup>259</sup>

金剛壽命念誦法一卷<sup>260</sup>

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span*, one fascicle

*Ritual Procedure of the Adamantine Life-span*, one fascicle

Next, they are listed in the two catalogues by Yuanzhao 円照 (d.u.), one of the direct disciples of Amoghavajra's. In the *Continuation of the Catalogue of Buddhist Teachings Compiled During the Kaiyuan Period, (Recorded in the) Zhenyuan Era of the Great Tang* (Ch. *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, Jp. *Daitō teigen zoku Kaigen shakukyō roku* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄) the followings are listed:

代宗朝大曆中特進試鴻臚卿大廣智不空三藏奏。 <sup>261</sup>

金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷二紙<sup>262</sup>

金剛壽命念誦法一卷三紙<sup>263</sup>

Completed by the *srāmaṇa* Amoghavajra (his titles), during the reign of Daitsung in the Dali era

*The Ritual Procedure of the Adamantine Life-span*, one fascicle, two pages

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span*, one fascicle, three pages

---

<sup>257</sup> T 2154, Vol.55: 0699c16 – 17.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.* 0700a15

<sup>259</sup> T 2120, vol. 52: 839b18.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.* 839c16.

<sup>261</sup> T 2156, vol. 55: 748c21 – 22.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.* 749a17.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.* 749b21.

金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷經內題云一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經二紙<sup>264</sup>

金剛壽命念誦法一卷經內云陀羅尼念誦法三紙<sup>265</sup>

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span*, one fascicle – inside the scripture the title says *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span of All the Tathāgatas*, two pages

*The Ritual Procedure of the Adamantine Life-span*, one fascicle – inside the scriptures it says the ritual procedures of the *dhāraṇī*, three pages

Then, in the *Catalogue of the Buddhist Teachings Newly Established in the Zhenyuan Era* (Ch. *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, Jp. *Teigen shintei shakukyō mokuroku* 貞元新定釋教目錄 the followings are listed:

金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷<sup>266</sup>

金剛壽命念誦法一卷<sup>267</sup>

金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷經內題云一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經<sup>268</sup>

金剛壽命念誦法一卷經內題云陀羅尼念誦法<sup>269</sup>

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span*, one fascicle

*The Ritual Procedure of the Adamantine Life-span*, one fascicle

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span*, one fascicle – inside the scripture the title says *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span of All the Tathāgatas*

*The Ritual Procedure of the Adamantine Life-span*, one fascicle – inside the scriptures it says the ritual procedures of the *dhāraṇī*

金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷 經內題云一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經(...)不空奉詔譯貞元新入目錄

金剛壽命念誦法一卷 經內題云陀羅尼念誦法(...)不空奉詔譯貞元新入目錄<sup>270</sup>

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span*, one fascicle – inside the scripture the title says *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span of All the Tathāgatas*, translated for imperial order by Amoghavajra (...), entered the catalogue newly in the Teigen era

*The Ritual Procedure of the Adamantine Life-span*, one fascicle – inside the scriptures it says the ritual procedures of the *dhāraṇī*, translated for imperial order by Amoghavajra (...), entered the catalogue newly in the Teigen era

The confusing titles of the *Darani* and *Issai kyō* texts make it difficult to know if these were separate texts even in China, or the previous is the abbreviated name of the latter. It is

---

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.* 767a19.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.* 767c01.

<sup>266</sup> T 2157, vol. 55: 0772b09.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.* 772c08.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.* 879b23.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.* 880a03.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.* 931b08 – 13.

very important to distinguish between them, because the *Darani kyō* otherwise has no roots in China. The omission of the *Darani kyō* and *Kyō hō* from the official Chinese and Korean canons, and the fact that they do appear listed in Japanese Buddhist temple catalogues would point to the possibility that they are Japanese apocryphons.<sup>271</sup> In the surviving documents of the Taimitsu associated Shōrenin temple 青蓮院 the *Kyō hō* is listed as follows:

金剛壽命陀羅尼經法  
 平安時代保延六年寫  
 (奥書)「保延六—九月十五日以故三昧阿闍梨本寫了」  
 (本奥書)「本云／承保四年六月十六日於南泉房奉校正了」<sup>272</sup>  
 The Ritual Instructions of the Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span  
 Copied in the sixth year of the Hōen era in the Heian period  
 (Okugaki) “On the fifteenth day of the ninth month in the sixth (year) of Hōen [1140] finished the copying of Sanmai ācārya’s [Ryōyū 良祐 (d.u.)] book”  
 (Original okugaki) “It is said in the book that on the sixteenth day of the sixth month in the fourth year of Jōhō [1077] the proofreading was finished at the Sanzenbō”

However, there is one more entry in the Shōrenin temple archives that is truly interesting for the history of the adamantine life-span texts:

金剛壽命陀羅尼經梵本  
 平安時代後期寫<sup>273</sup>  
*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span* – Sanskrit book  
 Late Heian period copy

This allusion to a Sanskrit version and a short entry in Ennin’s commentary on the *STTS*, the *Kongōchō daikyōō gyō sho* 金剛頂大教王經疏<sup>274</sup> makes it evident that the *Darani kyō* must have existed as a separate text, and was probably of Indian origins.<sup>275</sup>

---

<sup>271</sup> Sørensen listed five criteria to prove that a certain Japanese text is not canonical, but was written in Japan. From these factors we see that almost all of them can be applied with the two dubious adamantine life-span texts: 1) not found or mentioned in any of the standard Chinese Buddhist catalogues, 2) not included in the Korean tripitaka, 3) the text is unique and does not exist in any other version, 4) not mentioned in the catalogues brought back to Japan by the various pilgrim monks. (Sørensen 2011c: 195.) It is certainly reasonable to suspect that they are not authentic Indian or Chinese texts, but altered versions of the other two that were actually transmitted and translated by Indian monks.

<sup>272</sup> *Shōrenin monzeki mokuroku* 1999: 130. Box nr. 23, text nr. 11.

<sup>273</sup> *Shōrenin monzeki mokuroku* 1999: 131. Box nr. 23, text nr. 14.

<sup>274</sup> T 2223, vol. 61. Ennin completed this commentary in 851. It consists of seven fascicles, and is explaining the three roll long translation of the *STTS* by Amoghavajra. The Tendai master wrote this for the two students, appointed in 850.

<sup>275</sup> To be able to assure more on this matter however the actual text in the Shōrenin temple must be examined.

金剛壽命經云。即入三摩地觀見。摩醯首羅大自在天。剛強難化。執持邪見。<sup>276</sup>

The *Adamantine life-span scripture* says that when (they) enter the *samādhi* they see the Great Deity Maheśvara, who is rigid, difficult to convert, and holds onto his wrong views.

This entry suggests that Ennin knew about a *Darani kyō* which described the scene of the subjugation of Maheśvara, so this could not be the *Issai kyō*, in which this scene is excluded. Also, as we will see below, the two texts are unmistakably distinguished in Ennin's and Enchin's catalogues of imported works. So it seems that at least the *Darani kyō* scripture was indeed translated in China.



Figure 37. Amulet from Dunhuang, BM (Acq. nr. 1919, 0101, 0.247), 11<sup>th</sup> century

The appearance of the principal mantra *Oṃ vajrāyūṣe svāhā* on one of the *dhāraṇī* amulets found in the Library Cave (or Cave 17) in the Mogao Grottoes at Dunhuang, now stored in the British Museum (Ch.00152, Fig. 37), can indicate two things.<sup>277</sup> On the one hand, this can prove that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra arrived via the Silk Road to China and may have made a stop at Dunhuang. On the other hand, it can mean that the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī* was used outside the *STTS* text, or the adamantine life-span texts, and survived after the latter texts disappeared. It is hard to determine either of these theories, since the surviving woodblock print is from the 10th century. It was acquired by Sir Aurel

<sup>276</sup> T 2223, vol. 61: 84c13 – 15.

<sup>277</sup> Hidas 2014: 105-117.



Stein in 1907, and is dedicated to Amitābha, who is regarded as the Buddha of the Infinite Life (other name is Amitāyus), with magical formulas written in *siddham* letters in square fashion around the central image of the sitting image of the deity.<sup>278</sup>

### III.1.2. The Scriptures in Japan

The postscript of the *Kyō hō* suggests that it was imported by Kūkai, Ennin and Enchin,<sup>279</sup> which fact cannot be ascertained by any of the masters' *mokurokus*. Three of the texts – the *Nenju hō*, the *Darani kyō* and the *Issai kyō* – are recorded in their catalogues of imported treasures, but there is evidence that at least one of them was brought to Japan during the Nara period. In the surviving documents of the sūtra copying quarters (*Shōsōin monjo* 正倉院文書) of the Tōdaiji temple 東大寺 in Nara we find a *Kongō jumyō kyō* listed as copied in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century:

金綱(剛)壽命經一卷<sup>280</sup>

*Sūtra of the Adamantine Life-span*, one fascicle

This particular document, signed by Byōei 平榮 (d.u.), dates the copying to 747.<sup>281</sup> Not being called the *Nenju hō*, there is the possibility that this refers to one of the other texts, most probably the *Darani kyō*. If we take this into consideration it would mean that it was also translated sometime between 730 and 735. As mentioned before, in Zhisheng's 730 catalogue, we only find the *Nenju hō* text listed, and the last envoys returning to Japan before 747 arrived in 735 and 736.<sup>282</sup> More importantly, this would also mean that both the *Nenju*

---

<sup>278</sup> Editions, translations and identifications of the texts are presented along with a study of the Chinese inscriptions on the side of the xylographs. Among the Sanskrit inscriptions we find the *dhāraṇī*, spelled as *om vajrayose svāhā*. *Ibid.* 110.

<sup>279</sup> For the postscript see below p. 121, and Appendices A and B.

<sup>280</sup> *Nara jidai komonjo furu tekisuto dētabēsu* 奈良時代古文書フルテキストデータベース (hereafter cited as *Nara database*)

URL: <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/05/0009/0342?m=all&s=0342>.

<sup>281</sup> We do not know much about the life of this monk, but it seems that this document puts him in the temple in 747, which is earlier than what Maki Nobuyuki 牧伸行 suggests in his study about him. (Maki 1994: 22-47.).

<sup>282</sup> If the sutra was brought to Japan by one of the envoys then there is great possibility that one of the two famous Japanese monks of those envoys imported it. One of them was Genbō 玄防 (? - 746), who arrived back to Japan in 735, and was famous for bringing countless Buddhist scriptures, after spending more than 16 years at the continent. For this he was also mentioned in the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀, where in the report of

*hō* and the *Darani kyō* was probably brought to China by the masters from India in 720, and not by Amoghavajra later, during his five year stay in Ceylon.<sup>283</sup>

Another mention is from 757, again found in the *Shōsōin* documents:

奉寫金剛壽命陀羅尼經千卷<sup>284</sup>

Respectfully copied the *Sūtra of the Adamantine Life-span*, one thousand fascicles<sup>285</sup>

In 780 the scripture appears on the list of texts in the Saidaiji temple 西大寺, in this case with its full name:

雜經四百九十八卷

金剛壽命陀羅尼經九十卷<sup>286</sup>

Miscellaneous Scriptures, 498 fascicles

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-span*, ninety fascicles<sup>287</sup>

Being listed as *miscellaneous scripture* demonstrates that in the Nara period, though the text was apparently copied quite often in large numbers, it was not yet considered as *esoteric*, in its sense as it would be applied from the next century onward. In addition to the lack of evidence about any kind of involvement in practices, the monks may not yet have known how to use it properly, therefore not being applied at all during the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>288</sup>

It was only in the 9<sup>th</sup> century that esoteric Buddhism truly reached Japan and was systematised by Kūkai. He is the first known person to bring the *Nenju hō* and *Darani kyō*

---

his death in 746 it is made known that he imported *more than 5000 fascicles of scriptures and many Buddhist images* 齋經論五千余卷及諸仏像來 (Kokushi taikai 国史大系 2, 266, URL: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/991092>). The other monk was Fushō 普照 (d.u.), who upon returning to Japan in 736 resided in the Tōdaiji temple.

<sup>283</sup> It is described in his bibliographies that he left China after his master died in 741 and returned in 746 with an immense number of texts from Ceylon, where he obtained more esoteric teachings. (Chou 1945: 290-298.)

<sup>284</sup> *Nara database*

URL: <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/05/0003/0612?m=all&s=0594&n=20>

<sup>285</sup> The one thousand fascicles refer to the amount of copies, not the actual length of the text. For more about this one thousand copies see the chapter of the rituals.

<sup>286</sup> *Saidaiji monjo* 西大寺文書, Box nr.101, text nr.5. Source: *Nihon komonjo yunion katarogu dētabēsu* 日本古文書ユニオンカタログデータベース (see on the website of the *Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo* 東京大学史料編集所, URL: <http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/index-j.html>).

<sup>287</sup> Here again, the ninety fascicles refer to the number of copies of the text.

<sup>288</sup> Some esoteric *sūtras* were read and *dhāraṇīs* recited during the Nara period, but no evidence have surfaced about the Adamantine life-span scripture or its *dhāraṇī* being used that way yet. However, this does not mean that they were not read or recited.

to Japan in 806, according to his catalogue of imported Buddhist treasures, the *Goshōrai mokuroku* 御請来目錄.<sup>289</sup>

The adamantine life-span texts are also listed later in Ennin's and Enchin's many *mokuroku*. The two Tendai monks each spent many years in Tang China, acquiring a vast number of Buddhist texts.<sup>290</sup> Ennin returned to Japan in 848, and in his catalogue, the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄, he lists the *Nenju hō* and the *Issai kyō*<sup>291</sup> texts; Enchin returned in 858, and all three of the above mentioned scriptures are specified in his three catalogues, the *Seiryūji guhō mokuroku* 青龍寺求法目錄,<sup>292</sup> the *Nihon biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本比丘圓珍入唐求法目錄,<sup>293</sup> and the *Chishō daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智証大師請来目錄.<sup>294</sup> We see that these texts were attributed to one or both of the two Indian masters from the very beginning. The entries in the Buddhist canons are also varying in this matter.<sup>295</sup>

Surviving sources suggest that the *Fugen Enmei text* was initially brought to Japan by Shingon monks. First by Eun 惠運 (798-869) in 847,<sup>296</sup> then by Shūei 宗叡 (809-884) in 865.<sup>297</sup> There are some controversies, however, around the introduction of not just the

---

<sup>289</sup> T 2161, vol. 55: 1060-1066. 金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷三紙 (1061a26), 金剛壽命念誦法一卷三紙 (1061b25).

<sup>290</sup> Ennin is the founder of the *sanmon ha* 山門派 and Enchin of the *jimon ha* 寺門派. The former's headquarters was the Enryakuji temple, while the latter's was the Onjōji temple 園城寺 (Miidera 三井寺 today, located on the slope of Mt. Hiei, now in the city of Ōtsu, Shiga).

<sup>291</sup> T 2167, vol. 55: 1078-1087. 金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法一卷 不空 (1078c22), 佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷 金剛智譯 (1079c27).

<sup>292</sup> T 2171, vol. 55: 1095-1097. 一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷金剛不空共譯 (1096a05), 金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷 (1096a18), 金剛壽命念誦法一卷 (1096b06).

<sup>293</sup> T 2172, vol. 55: 1097-1101. 一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷 (1097b29), 金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷 (1097c13), 金剛壽命念誦法一卷 (1098a01).

<sup>294</sup> T 2173, vol. 55: 1102-1108. 一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷金剛智 (1103a21), 金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷不空 (1103b05), 金剛壽命念誦法一卷不空 (1103b23).

<sup>295</sup> For example the *Fangshan Canon* and the *Jiaxing Canon* also gives both Vajrabodhi's and Amoghavajra's names as translators. In the Nanjio catalogue we can see the same: 'Translated by Vajrabodhi 金剛智, together with K'-tsān (Jñānakośa, i.e. another name of Amoghavajra 不空金剛), A. D. 723-730, of the Tang dynasty, A. D. 618-907' Nanjio 1883: 213.

<sup>296</sup> *Eun zenshi shōrai kyōhō mokuroku* 惠運禪師將來教法目錄 (T 2168A, vol. 55: 1087-1089). 最勝延命經一卷 (1087c22). *Eun risshi sho mokuroku* 惠運律師書目錄 (T 2168B, vol. 55: 1089-1092). 佛說一切(諸)如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經一卷 大廣智不空譯 (1089a29 – b01).

<sup>297</sup> *Shin shosha shōrai hōmon tō mokuroku* 新書寫請來法門等目錄 (T 2174A, vol. 55: 1108-1111). 一切如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命陀羅尼經一卷 不空三藏譯此同先請壽命(經)同本異譯也 四紙; 普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經一卷 不空三藏譯 (異譯也) 四紙 (1108b06 – 09.).

scriptures, but also the images. It seems that the common denominator in the early history of the adamantine life-span and the Fugen Enmei texts is Amoghavajra. The adamantine life-span texts were brought to Japan by Kūkai, then by two Tendai monks, Ennin and Enchin, who all stayed at the Qinglongsi monastery 青龍寺 at one point of their journeys to Tang China. Kūkai studied from Huiguo, the other two from Faquan, disciple of the previous Chinese master. Thus this coincidence may indicate that the texts were passed down by monks of that monastery, especially those in Amoghavajra's lineage (Fig. 38).

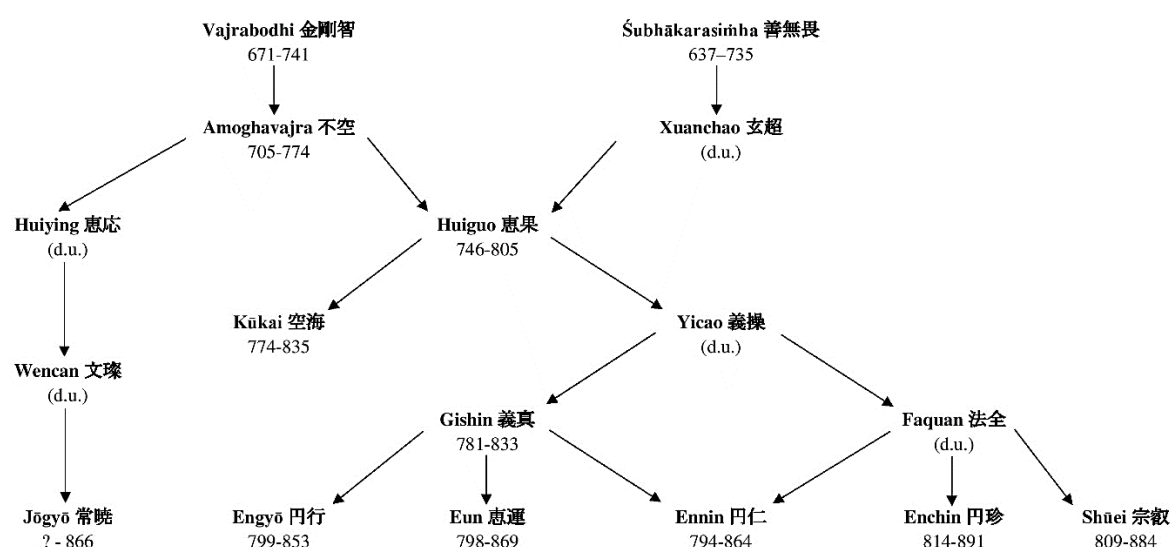


Figure 38. *Nittō hakke* lineages with Chinese masters

As for the *Fugen Enmei kyō*, if it had been passed down by Amoghavajra, as he is the supposed translator, then logically it should have been included in Kūkai's initiation into the two fold Adamantine and Womb world doctrines. Instead, we have sufficient amount of evidence to prove that he imported an oral tradition, not present in any scripture, with the twenty-armed Enmei bosatsu deity. A deity which is connected to the Womb world. But where was the scripture with the two-armed canonical deity, related to the Adamantine world? That text is clearly linked to Mt. Wutai: the two Shingon monks, Eun and Shūei, who introduced the Fugen Enmei text, who both made a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain. There was one other monk who made this journey to the mountain during his sojourn in China, and that was the aforementioned Ennin, the importer of the two-armed deity, according to his journal and *mokurokus*. Eun spent five years in China in the same decade as Ennin, but we

do not find any of the Adamantine life-span scriptures on his list of imported treasures, only the Fugen Enmei text twice. On the contrary, Ennin saw a Fugen Enmei sculpture, and brought back not just its image (a drawing perhaps), but copies of the adamantine life-span texts and *mantras*, but we find no Fugen Enmei scripture anywhere. Ennin stayed another eight years in China and survived the great anti-Buddhist persecution of 845, so it is not unlikely that he may have lost some of the texts he acquired earlier during this strenuous period. Also, Eun may have also brought back an image, or had one made on the basis of the Fugen Enmei text, because there is one listed in the *Anjōji shizaichō* 安祥寺資材帳, which tells the founding circumstances of the temple, founded by this monk upon his return from China in 847 (about the various *engi*, *shizaichō* and their images see below, pp. 151-152). All these circumstances point to Mt. Wutai as the most likely place of origin for the Fugen Enmei text and its image which were brought to Japan, however, at this point we do not know any more about their further roots, dissemination, or possible ritual usage.

The reason this text was included finally in the *Taishōzō* must have been the decision of the editors to embrace texts which had long influenced Japanese Buddhism.<sup>298</sup> Nevertheless, it seem to have disappeared outside of Japan. The Fugen Enmei image through its ritual had strong ties to the imperial family and ruling classes through the two Japanese esoteric traditions since the 9<sup>th</sup> century, an aspect that makes this text more than qualified for such an insertion into the Buddhist canon. The copies of this *sūtra* and other related texts (ritual manuals, oral traditions, etc.), usually alongside the adamantine life-span scriptures, are still part of the inventories of many Japanese esoteric Buddhist centres, such as the Kōzanji 高山寺, Tōji 東寺, or Daigoji 醍醐寺 temples. Together with the Mt. Kōya and Mt. Hiei temple complexes these were the most influential places since fairly early in the Heian period.<sup>299</sup>

The first allusion to the usage of one of the adamantine life-span texts in Japan is found in the miscellaneous documents of Enchin. According to his report, the *Kongō jumyō kyō* was read at the imperial palace in 852:

奉讀 金剛壽命經一千九百二十卷 毎日五卷<sup>300</sup>

<sup>298</sup> For more about the circumstances of the editing of the canon, see Wilkinson 2014.

<sup>299</sup> Unfortunately, I have not had the chance yet to examine these first hand yet.

<sup>300</sup> *Chishō daishi zenshū* 智証大師全集 1917–18: 1297–1298. We do not know which text this entry refers to exactly.

Respectfully read: *Sūtra of the Adamantine Life-span* one thousand nine hundred and twenty fascicles (five fascicles every day)

In Japanese esoteric Buddhist context the texts became more and more eminent during the Heian period always tied to the aristocrats and the imperial family, then with the wavering popularity of the esoteric sects after the *shogunate* was established, and especially the warring periods, effected the scriptures and the rituals as well. Seeing their contents they belong to the individual ritual (Jp. *bessonbō* 別尊法) scripture tradition, when one of the deities of the Two world mandalas appear on their own as the main character of a scripture, and as the individual central image (Jp. *besson* 別尊), having their own rituals.

### III.1.3. The Translator(s)

It is proved by the countless *sūtra* translations surviving from the Tang period and the renowned rituals of Amoghavajra<sup>301</sup> that esoteric Buddhism was strongly influential in China, nevertheless, we do not know much about the notion, the texts, or the image of the adamant life-span or Fugen Enmei in the Chinese esoteric Buddhist scene. We only have one – barely credible – piece of information linking them to the translators in Vajrabodhi's biography:

自爾帝方加歸仰焉武貴妃寵異六宮薦施寶玩智勸貴妃急造金剛壽命菩薩像又勸河東郡王於毘盧遮那塔中繪像謂門人曰此二人者壽非久矣經數月皆如其言凡先覺多此類也<sup>302</sup>

Wu kuei-fei 武貴妃 who alone among the queens enjoyed the particular favour (of the Emperor), presented treasures to Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi urged the queen to have made in haste a statue of Chin-kang shou-ming p'u-sa 金剛壽命菩薩. He also advised the Prince of Ho-tung 河東郡王 to paint an image in the stupa of Vairocana. He told his disciples: "These two persons will not live long." In a few months both died as he said. All his predictions were in general similarly exact.<sup>303</sup>

---

<sup>301</sup> See his biographies analysed and translated to English in Chou 1945 and Orlando 1981.

<sup>302</sup> T 2061, vol. 50: 711c18 – 22.

<sup>303</sup> Translation from Chou 1945: 279-280. In the footnotes the author mentions that there is no description of its image in the *Nenju hō* text and a similarly called bodhisattva, Enjūmyō 延壽命, frequently appearing on paintings recovered from Dunhuang. But he also writes that they are not the same deity.

This report holds many crucial details. First of all, it links Vajrabodhi directly to the texts, which also means that it is possible that he was involved in the translations. Secondly, this is the only proof so far that the texts were being used in China at least in the 8<sup>th</sup> period.<sup>304</sup> Finally, we know that there was an image for the Adamantine life-span bodhisattva in China, although we cannot be sure if it was Fugen Enmei, as they will be generally associated later by the Japanese monks.

In three out of the five scriptures (the *Nenju hō*, the *Issai kyō* and the *Fugen Enmei kyō*) related to the adamantine life-span and Fugen Enmei, the translator is named as Amoghavajra, whereas in the other two, only official titles are listed, which are consistent with that of Amoghavajra's titles. The catalogues, writings of Japanese monks and the Buddhist canons have consensus over the translator's identity in the case of the *Nenju hō*, the *Kyō hō* and the *Fugen Enmei* texts. Most of them also agree that the translator of the *Issai kyō* is Vajrabodhi. There are slight differences in Amoghavajra's titles at these three texts:

開府儀同三司特進試鴻臚卿肅國公食邑三千戶賜紫贈司空諡大鑒正號  
大廣智大興善寺(唐南天竺國)三藏(金剛智與)沙門不空奉詔譯<sup>305</sup>

Translated for imperial order by the *śrāmaṇa* Amoghavajra (with Vajrabodhi), the *tripiṭaka* master (South India), of the Da Xingshan monastery (of Tang China), 'Commander Unequaled in Honour,' 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' from Siṃhala, the Duke of Su with a fief of 3000 households, who was presented with the purple (robe) and was given the official title of 'Minister of Works,' posthumously called the 'One of Great Discrimination and Great and Broad Wisdom'

開府儀同三司特進試鴻臚卿肅國公食邑三千戶賜紫贈司空諡大鑑正號  
大廣智大興善寺三藏沙門不空奉詔譯<sup>306</sup>

Translated for imperial order by the *śrāmaṇa* Amoghavajra, the *tripiṭaka* master, of the Da Xingshan monastery, 'Commander Unequaled in Honour,' 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' from Siṃhala, the Duke of Su with a fief of 3000 households, who was presented with the purple (robe) and was given the official title of 'Minister of Works,' posthumously called the 'One of Great Discrimination and Great and Broad Wisdom'

---

<sup>304</sup> The determination of further usage of these texts in China involves the thorough research of Chinese sources which overreach the limits of this dissertation. It would be important, however to see how and when the texts or images were applied.

<sup>305</sup> T 1133, vol. 21: 575a16 – 19. (The characters in the parenthesis indicate the different versions used in the *Taishōzō* text. See Appendix A and B.)

<sup>306</sup> T 1135, vol. 21: 578a15 – 18.

大興善寺開府儀同三司肅國公特進試鴻臚贈司空諡大辨正廣智食邑三千戶師子國三藏沙門不空譯<sup>307</sup>

Translated by the *śrāmaṇa* Amoghavajra, the *tripitaka* master from Siṃhala, of the Da Xingshan monastery, 'Commander Unequalled in Honour,' the Duke of Su with a fief of 3000 households, 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' who was given the official title of 'Minister of Works,' posthumously called the 'One of Great Discrimination and of Broad Wisdom'

In the first two the same titles are listed, in the exact same order, while the designation of the *Fugen Enmei kyō* is different in the order of the titles and the usual “*translated for imperial order*” (奉詔譯) is also omitted. The listing of all his titles – even the posthumous ones – is exactly what first made me query the credibility of these supposed translations.<sup>308</sup> Amoghavajra's legendary fame would have made any esoteric texts significant in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Japanese monks, and scholars today as well, do not question – and never really have – that all these are Amoghavajra's works, but also do not show any evidence to support it. Only two are included in his list of the already translated scriptures, which he made in 771 as a present to Emperor Daitsung's 太宗 birthday. Yet, he was active for another 3-4 years, so it could have been a later translation, or even finished by one of his disciples.<sup>309</sup>

Another question is the involvement of his master, Vajrabodhi. The first translation is listed in 730, which is eleven years before Vajrabodhi's death. Also, the 9<sup>th</sup> century Japanese monks' catalogues of the scriptures they imported from Tang China, which we previously touched upon above, further attests to Vajrabodhi's involvement. It seems that especially the *Issai kyō* text was regarded as the translation of Vajrabodhi. In Ennin's list, it is attributed to this Indian master alone,<sup>310</sup> in two of Enchin's lists, the *Shōryūji guhō mokuroku* 青龍寺

---

<sup>307</sup> T 1136, vol. 21: 579a06 – 08.

<sup>308</sup> If we are to believe the biographies of Amoghavajra, which were examined and compared by Orlando Raffaello in his doctoral dissertation presented to the Princeton University in 1981, the imperial edict of his title as *kaifu* 開府, and his peerage of *Duke of Su* 肅國公 (Ch. *Su guogong*) is dated to the 11th day of the 6th month in the 9th year of Dali 大曆, a mere four or five days before his death.<sup>308</sup> His posthumous titles as Minister of Works 司空 (Ch. *sikong*) and the honorific title of Tripitaka master and *upādhyāya* of Great Discrimination 大辨正三藏和尚 (Ch. *da bian zheng sanzang heshang*) are also included. For more about Amoghavajra see Chou 1945 and Raffaello 1981.

<sup>309</sup> Amoghavajra's authorship has been already doubted by scholars. He was an expert in the Chinese language as well, so it is not hard to believe when scholars suggest that some of the translations could have been actually written by Amoghavajra himself in Chinese. For more about this matter see Osabe 1990, Iyanaga 1985, Giebel 1995.

<sup>310</sup> 佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷金剛智譯 (*Ibid.* 1079c27)



求法目錄<sup>311</sup> and the *Chishō daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智證大師請來目錄<sup>312</sup> it is either Vajrabodhi,<sup>313</sup> or him along with his disciple, Amoghavajra.<sup>314</sup> In Annen's previously mentioned comprehensive list of all newly imported doctrines, the *Sho ajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨真言密教部類總錄,<sup>315</sup> it is not just the attribution that is fascinating for us, but also the brief note which says that it is Vajrabodhi's rare Sanskrit short explanatory version.<sup>316</sup> Annen also mentions that there are two version to this, one by Vajrabodhi and one by Amoghavajra.<sup>317</sup>

It becomes clear from later commentaries that this notion was passed down among the esoteric Buddhist monks of both traditions. In the *Gyōrinshō* (Taimitsu) we are told at the *Shobutsu jūe darani kyō* text explanation that the gist of the disclosure of the Shitenno is in Vajrabodhi's translation, which must be *Issai kyō* which is almost identical to the former text.<sup>318</sup> A century later, Raiyu 頼瑜 (Tōmitsu) repeats the Vajrabodhi attribution in both of his major writings, the *Usuzōshi kuketsu* 薄草子口決, and the *Hishō mondō* 祕鈔問答. At the Fugen Enmei section of both he writes that the *Issai kyō* was translated by Vajrabodhi.<sup>319</sup>

The remaining two texts only list some of the titles we have seen above:

特進試鴻臚卿大辨正廣智三藏奉詔譯<sup>320</sup>

Translated by the *śrāmaṇa*, the 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' the One of Great Discrimination and of Broad Wisdom

特進試鴻臚卿大辨正大廣智三藏奉詔譯<sup>321</sup>

<sup>311</sup> T 2171, vol. 55: 1095-1097.

<sup>312</sup> T 2173, vol. 55: 1102-1108.

<sup>313</sup> 一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷金剛智 (*Ibid.* 1103a21)

<sup>314</sup> 一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷金剛不空共譯 (T 2171, vol. 55: 1096a05)

<sup>315</sup> T 2176, vol.55: 1113-1132.

<sup>316</sup> 一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷金剛智珍梵釋闕本 (*Ibid.* 1121b11)

<sup>317</sup> 金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷內云一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經不空譯貞元新入目錄私云前伴(件)金剛智及不空智兩本今見行世而此錄中以爲一本者非也 (*Ibid.* 1121b14 – 15.)

<sup>318</sup> 恒伽河邊之說。以四天王爲對告。大旨開於金剛智譯。 (T 2409, vol. 76: 141b03 – 04.)

<sup>319</sup> 佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經金剛智譯 (T 2535, vol. 79: 211c04) 一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經一卷金剛智證 (T 2536, vol. 79: 439a28 – 29.)

<sup>320</sup> T 1134A, vol. 21: 576a09 – 10.

<sup>321</sup> T 1134B, vol. 21: 577b17 – 18.

Translated by the *śrāmaṇa*, the 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' the One of Great Discrimination and of Great and Broad Wisdom

The titles undoubtedly suggest Amoghavajra as the translator here as well, nonetheless, as for the reason why the name is omitted, the present state of their research cannot provide a satisfactory answer.

All five of the Japanese monks, mentioned beforehand, who came in contact with the adamantine life-span texts, the Fugen Enmei scripture and its image, are in the group of the eight famous monks of the 9<sup>th</sup> century who went to Tang China to seek teachings. Besides, all monks have in common their visit to the Qinglongsi 青龍寺 in the capital of Chang'an 長安, a temple which was operated by Amoghavajra's disciples. The Fugen Enmei image, and probably its scripture is also undoubtedly connected to the Mt. Wutai 五台山, where one of Amoghavajra's greatest project, the construction of the Jinge monastery 金閣寺 was executed.<sup>322</sup> In both Eun's and Shūei's mokurokus the Fugen Enmei text is attributed to Amoghavajra, therefore it was undoubtedly handed down as Amoghavajra's translation. However, this construction was overseen by one of his oldest and closest disciples, Hanguang 含光, who was appointed its first abbot upon its completion.<sup>323</sup> He accompanied his master to Sri Lanka between 741 and 746, and worked closely with him on translations.<sup>324</sup> Almost everything points to Amoghavajra, yet we still feel that something is missing. If he was the translator then why was not this text included among his list of works in 771? If he translated it after this list and before his death in 774, why is it not included in Kūkai's initiation by Huiguo at Qinglongsi?<sup>325</sup> Furthermore, the theme of longevity was more common in Chinese spiritual thought, for example many Daoist texts were written about various methods to obtain long or everlasting life, while in comparison, in Indian teachings this subject seldom surfaces. Concluding of my line of thought, it seems that there are two possibilities for the origin of the Fugen Enmei sūtra. On the one hand, this text may have been brought to Mt. Wutai by either Amoghavajra or Hanguang, after acquiring it during their journey to Sri Lanka, but then the translation could have been completed by Hanguang,

---

<sup>322</sup> Raffaello 1981: 31, 112, esp. n. 25.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.* 112; Sen 2003: 83.

<sup>324</sup> Sundberg 2016: 365.

<sup>325</sup> There is no indication anywhere that after 770 he went back to Mt. Wutai.

who out of respect to his master, assigned it him.<sup>326</sup> On the other hand, it may have been influenced by local religious thought.<sup>327</sup> Nevertheless, this remain undecided until it can be confirmed by written evidences.

#### III.1.4. *Zōmitsu* or *Junmitsu*?

After the analyses of the contents of many esoteric scriptures, the Japanese scholars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century created the division of the *miscellaneous* (Jp. *zōmitsu* 雑密) and *pure* esoteric (Jp. *junmitsu* 純密) texts. While it is not much applied by Western researchers of esoteric Buddhism, this distinction was first used by two of the most important early scholars of esoteric Buddhism in Japan, Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶 and Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, which defined the last decades of researching esoteric texts for all Japanese scholars. The definition for these two categories is given in Katsumata's principal work, he says,

“Looking at the completion of esoteric Buddhist *sūtras*, in which secret spells had been gradually attached more and more importance, and by that became the basis of faith, during the middle period (of Buddhism), in the transition from the sectarian Buddhism (部派仏教) to the Mahāyāna Buddhism, there has been completed quite many scriptures with mantra spells, but from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century onward, the religion became focused on Mahāvairocana, when scriptures like the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* were completed, which emphasize the experiencing of the *samādhi* through actual practice, as the goal of becoming a buddha. These (two) are distinguished as the esoteric Buddhism from the beginning to the completion of the *Dainichi kyō* is called the miscellany, or old esoteric Buddhism, and the religion centred on Dainichi buddha after the completion of the *Dainichi kyō*, which emphasizes becoming a buddha in an expedient way is called pure, or new esoteric Buddhism (...).”<sup>328</sup>

---

<sup>326</sup> This may also explain why there is only one text assigned to Hanguang in the Taishōzō, when we consider his reputation as one of Amoghavajra's major disciple who helped him in numerous translations.

<sup>327</sup> Further investigation is required in site.

<sup>328</sup> Katsumata 1970: 5. In Japanese (my translation).

The factors which determine if the text is miscellaneous or pure are given in Matsunaga's study, published in *The Eastern Buddhist*,<sup>329</sup> and are quoted in Kiyota Minoru's 清田実 principal work on the Shingon school:

“The transition from Miscellaneous Esoteric Buddhism to Pure Esoteric Buddhism was a gradual one, and indeed it is difficult to separate clearly the division between the two, but the following consideration may be relevant here. Scriptures of the Miscellaneous Esoteric tradition generally take the form of sermons preached by the Buddha Śākyamuni, and concern magic and ceremonies designed to avert evil and bring about blessings. There is no unitary religious practice involving [*mantra* and] *dhāraṇī*, *mudrā* [finger signs], or meditation, nor are the various Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* systematized into the scheme of a *maṇḍala* [iconographic representation of truth]. The scriptures of the Pure Esoteric tradition are preached by Vairocana *Tathāgata*; in the practice of the teachings set forth in these scriptures, meditation is combined with *mudrā* and *dhāraṇī* (*mantras*), and the interrelationship between these three-which now have as their goal the attainment of the full illumination which is Buddhahood-is strongly stressed. Also a variety of *maṇḍalas* are depicted in these Pure Esoteric Scriptures.”<sup>330</sup>

These categories can probably be correctly applied for some of the esoteric texts but a general use to all of them is unwise. For one instance, based on these categorizations the five texts, relating to the adamant life-span and Fugen Enmei, do not belong to either of the groups, but are a combination of the factors. They may be regarded as transitional works between the miscellaneous and the pure esoteric texts, for sometimes it is the Buddha Śākyamuni who preaches the sermon, which is supposed to be one characterization of the former group, but as the meditation is combined with *mudrā* and *dhāraṇī* (*mantras*), and the interrelationship between these three-which now have as their goal the attainment of the full illumination which is Buddhahood,<sup>331</sup> by which description these scriptures should belong to the latter group. Also, the benefits of the texts are mixed, some of them being for worldly gains, whereas the reaching of the Bodhi is also listed.

---

<sup>329</sup> Matsunaga 1969: 1-14.

<sup>330</sup> Kiyota 1978: 6.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*

## III.2. The Adamantine Life-Span Scriptures

The four texts directly preceding the Fugen Enmei scripture in Volume 21 of the *Taishōzō* are all connected by the notion of the adamantine life-span.<sup>332</sup> Within these four, we can differentiate between two groups: the first three texts (*Nenju hō*, *Kyō hō* and *Darani kyō*) constitute one group, and the *Issai kyō* another. The first three texts are linked due to their contents: all of them are expounded on Mt. Sumeru by Vairocana Buddha. The scriptures start with the same sentences, therefore I will only introduce it once, at the first text. I am analysing the texts one by one, in the order of their place at the *Taishōzō*.

Most of the scriptures can be divided roughly into four parts:

- 1) The introduction of the sermon
- 2) The subjugation of Maheśvara
- 3) Benefits of the adamantine life-span mantra and contemplation on Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva and Vajrasattva
- 4) Benefits of the armour mantra, instructions to the ritual, and the end of the sermon

### III.2.1. Introduction of the Sermon in the Adamantine Life-span Texts

The *Nenju hō*, the *Kyō hō* and the *Darani kyō* make one group because their contents are quite similar. Furthermore, the first two parts of all three texts tell exactly the same things: first they give an introduction of the sermon, with the place and the audiences, then the subjugation of Maheśvara is told. (For full English translations see Appendix B.)

The usual *sūtra* opening is modified, and the *Adamantine Pinnacle Yoga sūtra* 金剛頂瑜伽經 is added as the source of the sermon. The text starts with giving the location of

---

<sup>332</sup> The adamantine life-span is an interesting and not yet well researched concept, but it is also hard to conceive. The Sanskrit word is *vajrāyus* (*vajra* = diamond or thunderbolt + *ayus* = life, life-span), the mystic and all-powerful *vajra* being the basic aspect (and originally weapon) of the esoteric deities, and therefore not surprisingly is exclusive to the esoteric teachings. Chronologically speaking it appears for the first time in the five scriptures I am analysing in this dissertation. By chronologically, I mean that although it appears in the translations of the *STTS*, one of the two fundamental scriptures of the esoteric teachings (the other is the *MVS*). See the further analysis below.

the sermon, which is one of the fourth *dhyāna* heavens 第四禪 on the top of the form realm 色界頂. The sermon is preached by Saṃbhogakāya Vairocana Buddha 毘盧遮那報身佛.<sup>333</sup> The Buddha descends to the peak of Mt. Sumeru and there, in the Adamantine Treasure Tower 金寶(峯)樓閣, where he is joined by all the Tathāgatas of the complete voidness and universal *dharmadhātu*. They then address the Buddha with a request to turn the four *dharma* wheels of Utmost Profound Secret of the Wonderful Law 微妙法甚深祕密四種(法)輪, which are:

- the Wheel of the Diamond Realm 金剛界輪;
- the Wheel of the Instructions of Subduing the Three Periods (Trailokyavijaya) 降三世教令輪;
- the Wheel of the All Pervading Rite of Subjugation 遍調伏法輪;
- the Wheel of All Wishes Realized (Sarvārthasiddha, or Siddhārtha) 一切義利成就輪.

These four wheels come out of Vairocana's mind. The concept of the four kinds of wheels is unique in its content. There is a similarly labelled concept in Zhu Daosheng's 竺道生 (355? – 434) commentary on the Lotus Scripture, however, the wheels are different. The only reference I could find for the wheels in the adamantine life-span texts is in Ennin's previously cited commentary on the *STTS* (Amoghavajra's version),<sup>334</sup> in which he surmises that these are the four great chapters of the first assembly in the eighteen assemblies of the *Adamantine pinnacle yogas*:

言成金剛界大曼荼羅等者。金剛項瑜伽有十八會。初會名一切如來真實攝教王。有四大品。一名金剛界。二名降三世。三名遍調伏。四名一切義成就。於此四中示初金剛界曼荼羅相。<sup>335</sup>

It says, that the Great mandala of the Diamond Realm is the eighteen assemblies that is in the Adamantine Pinnacle yoga. The first assembly is called King of Teachings: Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas and consists of four main parts: 1) “Adamantine Realm,” 2) “Victory over the Three Worlds,” 3) “Universal Subjugation” and 4) “Accomplishment of All Objectives.” In these four the characteristic of the first Diamond world mandala is shown.

<sup>333</sup> The reward body, the *saṃbhogakāya* of a Buddha, is the body in which he enjoys the reward of his labours. (DCBT 1934: 369) One of the three bodies of the Buddha. (For more on the *trikāya* [Jp. *sanshin* 三身] see DCBT 1934: 77.)

<sup>334</sup> T 0865, Vol.18.

<sup>335</sup> T 2223, Vol.61: 71c05 – 10.

The eighteen assemblies are presented in the *Indications of the Goals of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture* (Ch. *Chinkangting ching yuch`ieh shih*, Jp. *Kongōchō kyō yuga jūhatte shiiki* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八会指帰, cited hereafter as the *Jūhatte shiiki*).<sup>336</sup> The scripture lists the same four parts, but with the short explanation of these four representing the four knowledge seals:

初會名一切如來眞實攝教王。有四大品。一名金剛界。二名降三世。三名遍調伏。四名一切義成就。表四智印。<sup>337 338</sup>

The first assembly is called King of Teachings: Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas and consists of four main parts: 1) “Adamantine Realm,” 2) “Victory over the Three Worlds,” 3) “Universal Subjugation” and 4) “Accomplishment of All Objectives.” These represent the four knowledge-seals.<sup>339</sup>

Giebel associates these four parts with the four parts of the *STTS*.<sup>340</sup> Through these associations we can conclude that this allusion is one of the many, which ties this, and the other adamantine life-span texts to the *Kongōchō kyō* lineage. It was Kūkai who first realised this and included the two texts known to him (*Nenju hō* and *Darani kyō*) in his *STTS* lineage.<sup>341</sup>

### III.2.2. The Subjugation of Maheśvara

After Vairocana turned these wheels and liberated the sentient beings comes the scene where Vairocana sees that among the deities, Maheśvara is reluctant to have the teachings of Buddhism. Therefore after the Buddha resides in the *samādhi* of Compassion and Anger, his wrathful form, Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva appears from the five pronged vajra coming

<sup>336</sup> T 0869, Vol.18. For the explanations I am using the annotated translation of Rolf W. Giebel. For more details see Giebel 1995.

<sup>337</sup> Four wisdom symbols of the Shingon cult: 大智印 or 摩訶岐若勿他羅 *mahājñāna mudrā*, the forms of the images; 三昧耶印 *samayajñāna mudrā*, their symbols and manual signs; 法智印 *dharmajñāna mudrā*, the magic formula of each; 羯磨智印 *karmajñāna mudrā*, the emblems of their specific functions. (DCBT 1934: 176.)

<sup>338</sup> T 0869, Vol.18: 284c19 – 21.

<sup>339</sup> Giebel 1995: 127.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>341</sup> KDZ Vol.1: 106-107. The full title is *Catalogue of Sūtra, Vinaya, and Śāstra (texts) to be studied in the Shingon School* (Jp. *Shingon shū sho gaku kyō ritsu ron mokuroku* 真言宗諸学経律論目錄)

forth from Vairocana Buddha's chest, and is asked to make the disobeying deity surrender and take refuge in the three jewels of Buddhism. Their name gives an interesting meaning to the scene, which clearly reveals the outcome as well, for Trailokyavijaya is also called the *Vanquisher of the Three Realms*, and Maheśvara is the manifestation of Śīva, who is the *Lord of the Three Realms*. The whole scene in the text is as follows,

毘盧遮那佛受諸如來請已欲轉法輪時即入三摩地觀見摩醯首羅天等剛強難化執著邪見非我寂靜大悲之身堪任調伏於時世尊入忿怒三摩地從胸臆五峯金剛菩提心流出四面八臂威德熾盛赫奕難觀降三世金剛菩薩身遍禮毘盧遮那及(佛)一切諸佛唯(惟)願世尊示教於我何所爲作佛告降三世菩薩汝今調伏難調諸天令歸依諸佛法僧發菩提心諸天盡皆歸依唯大自在天恃大威德來相拒敵降三世種種苦治乃至於死毘盧遮那佛入悲愍大悲(慈)三昧耶說金剛壽命陀羅尼便入金剛壽命三摩地乃結印契加持摩(魔)醯首羅天復還得蘇更增壽命歸依諸佛灌頂授(受)記證得八地金剛壽命真言曰 **ॐ वज्रयन्त्रं ह्रीं** 唵嚩日囉二合喻囉(囉)娑嚩二合引賀(引)<sup>342</sup>

After Vairocana Buddha received the request of all the buddhas, when he wanted to turn the wheel of the Dharma, at that moment he entered the *samādhi* where he saw Maheśvara, The Great Heavenly Being of the Unrestricted World, (who was) rigid and difficult to convert, because he was holding onto his wrong views. Only the calmness of the *anātman* and the great compassion [*mahākaruṇā*] could conquer him. At that time, the World Honoured One entered the Compassion and anger *samādhi*, and from his bosom came out a five pronged diamond *bodhicitta* and poured out Trailokyavijaya Diamond Bodhisattva's four faced, eight armed body, burning with majestic virtue and power, which is extraordinary and hard to see, saluting all around Vairocana buddha and all the buddhas. 'Please, teach me what to do and make.' So the Buddha told Trailokyavijaya: 'You now make all these hard-to-teach great deities surrender, (make them) take refuge in the many buddhas, dharma and *saṃgha*, and arouse the aspiration for Enlightenment.' By that, at that moment they surrendered. All of the deities without exception took refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the *saṃgha*. It was only Maheśvara, who is extraordinarily great and (equipped with) majestic power, who produced resistance. Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva with great difficulty subdued (him and) even made them reach death. With his right (leg) he stepped on the Great Deity, with his left (leg) he stepped on the Goddess. Thereupon, after Vairocana Buddha entered the *samādhi* of the Great Compassion, at that moment, he uttered the *dhāraṇī* of the diamond life span; he moreover entered the *samādhi* of the diamond life span and formed the secret mudra, and with his power he revived Maheśvara deity and doubled his life-span. He took refuge in all of the buddhas, he aroused the bodhicitta. He attained the *abhiṣeka* (from Vairocana) and realized the eighth stage (of

<sup>342</sup> T 1133, vol. 20: 575b01 – 16; T 1134A, vol. 20: 576a20 – b09; T 1134B, vol. 20: 577b28 – c17.



the bodhisattva). The true words (mantra) of the adamantine life-span: *Oṃ vajrāyuse* (‘adamantine life-span’) *svāhā*

This part is the brief summary of what happens in the second part of the *Kongōchō kyō* scripture. The description of this subjugation scene is much longer and more detailed in that scripture, and it is Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva, who fights the deity. However, we also get to know that Trailokyavijaya is the wrathful form of Vajrapāṇi, so basically the scene is the same, but with different manifestations of Vairocana Buddha.<sup>343</sup> It is a crucial passage in the *STTS*, which was first translated in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, but intriguingly enough, this scene appears only two hundred years later, in a translation by Dānapāla 施護<sup>344</sup> at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>345</sup>

The association of the two bodhisattvas is also shown in the fact that the scene where Vajrapāṇi steps on Maheśvara and his consort became a common iconography for Trailokyavijaya in Japan. There are mostly statues and some ink drawings surviving which represent this kind of image. We find examples in the *Zuzōshō* 図像抄, the oldest surviving collection of iconographies in Japan (Fig. 39),<sup>346</sup> or in the Tōji temple in a form of a statue (Fig. 40). Both images show Trailokyavijaya with four faces (only three visible) and eight arms, and tramping on Maheśvara and his consort, just like in the description of the adamantine life-span and the *STTS* texts. The pose, in which Trailokyavijaya is depicted, is the same as that of Vajrapāṇi’s common images.

---

<sup>343</sup> Linrothe 1999: 156-157.

<sup>344</sup> Dānapāla arrived to China in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. His translations of esoteric texts survive from 980.

<sup>345</sup> T 0882, vol. 18. The full title is *Issai nyorai shinjitsushō daijō genshō sanmai daikyōō-kyō* 一切如来真実撰大乘現証三昧大教王經. The subjugation scene is much more detailed and a long dialogue is presented between the bodhisattva and the deity, see 370c14 – 372c29.

It would make an interesting research as of why Amoghavajra’s translation in the 8<sup>th</sup> century does not include this crucial subjugation scene, when a brief version of it made it into the adamantine life-span scriptures. It may suggest that he was not in possession of the full version of the *STTS*, otherwise why would have he omitted those parts?

<sup>346</sup> TZ vol. 3: 36-37.



Figure 39. Trailokyavijaya sculpture, Tōji temple, 9<sup>th</sup> century (NT)  
Figure 40. Trailokyavijaya drawing. From *Zuzōshō*, TZ vol. 3, between pp. 36-37.

The adamantine life-span mantra is used to revive the stubborn deity after his subjugation and death. The text says,

爾時世尊告金剛手大菩薩言大士此三界主大自在天何故不起于地而此  
將非壞失命邪時金剛手大菩薩即爲宣說護命大明曰  
嚩日囉 二合 引 喻 一句<sup>347</sup>

At that time the World Honoured One said to Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva, why the Great Master of those Three Worlds, Maheśvara has not risen. At that time Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva said the Life Protecting *hṛdaya* for him: *Vajrāyuh*

But this does not simply revives him, he is brought back to life, though still hesitates to be obedient, Vajrapāṇi triumphs over him and his consort, treads on them, but Vairocana Buddha feels compassion for them, pronounces a spell and their suffering ends. Then Maheśvara goes through an initiation (Sk. *abhiṣeka*), he receives consecrations, powers of meditation, salvation, mnemonics, faculties of knowledge and magical powers, all of the highest perfection by the contact with the sole of Vajrapāṇi's foot, and he becomes Tathāgata Bhasmeśvaranirghoṣa (Jp. Bashamisarajirisha nyorai 跋娑彌莎囉爾哩瞿沙如來)<sup>348</sup> or in other words, Krodhavajra (Jp. Funnu kongō 忿怒金剛).<sup>349</sup>

<sup>347</sup> T 0882, vol. 18: 371c25 – 29.

<sup>348</sup> Chandra – Snellgrove 1981: 41.

<sup>349</sup> T 0882, vol. 18: 372b19 – 26.

### III.2.3. The Benefits of the Texts

In the third part we are acquainted with the many benefits for those people who uphold the above preached adamantine life-span mantra. But to achieve them we have to recite the *dhāraṇī* three thousand time every day divided into three times a day. If we do so, our rewards will be plenty. The *Nenju hō* text lists some initial benefits:

- avoiding short lives and untimely deaths, by purifying the evil karma which causes it;
- the karmic obstructions are destroyed;
- the life-span is increased.


Then in this and the *Kyō hō* texts some more are listed after the visualization and the *homa* rituals are described. The benefits are the same:

- avoiding calamities;
- prolonging lifetime;
- avoiding the difficulties of diseases, storms, etc.;
- all the wishes will be fulfilled;
- obtaining great fortune and wisdom, excellent aspiration and completeness;
- high positions as (state) officials;
- obtaining riches, abundant wealth and treasures.

The text is finished with an explanation, which also helps us to connect this scripture to Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva. The last sentence says that the syllable *yuh* is the seed syllable of Samantabhadra of Long Life. This is repeatedly cited by the commentaries and ritual manuals of Shingon and Tendai monks as well.

The *Darani kyō* mentions the another set of benefits:

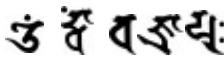
- obtaining of the five transcendental faculties;
- the power to ascend to the air;
- not being reborn in a physical body via parents.

The last part of the *Darani kyō* text includes a contemplation. This is the only allusion to some kind of ritualistic feature, there are no instructions or fire rituals mentioned in this short version. The contemplation starts with the syllable 欲  (*yuh*), which transforms into the great Adamantine Life-span Bodhisattva. This character which was considered the seed syllable of Samantabhadra *yuh*, therefore by these two texts we know that they regarded him to be the equivalent of the Adamantine Life-span Bodhisattva.

### III.2.4. Visualisation Practices in the *Nenju hō* and *Kyō hō* Texts

Both texts expound a visualisation practice (Sk. *samādhi*, Jp. *sanmai* 三昧 or *sanmaji* 三摩地) and what it entails, its benefits, the different steps of the contemplation, first on Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva, then on Vajrasattva, ending with the armour mantra. The practitioners would gain the five transcendental faculties 五神通, which are common in the Mahāyāna literatures.<sup>350</sup> And another important benefit is that they will not be born via parents again, meaning they would achieve a higher level of rebirth, and not as humans. The contemplation has a set of instructions which are almost the same in the two texts, although the *Kyō hō* explains it in more details. The instructions are the following:

- sit in the lotus position (Jp. *kekkaфуza* 結跏趺坐) and close the eyes
- put the two hands together, placing them under the navel
- meditate on the many buddhas in the air far and wide, and finally gain clearness in their understanding
- visualize their own bodies like the bright and transparent light of the full moon, in which there is the shape of the five-pronged *vajra* sceptre, which gradually increases to a life-size image
- visualize it transforming into Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva, with Vairocana Buddha on top of his head, therefore from his whole body and all of his pores the *amṛta abhiṣeka* (甘露灌頂) comes out, and pours into their own body and heart
- contemplate on Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, then form the *dhāraṇī* mudrā of the Adamantine life-span Bodhisattva: form the Adamantine Fist with both hands, with the right index finger pushing the left forming a hook, and placing them above the head
- recite the Adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī* seven times
- place the hands above the forehead, separate the hands and join them together behind the neck, and extend two fingers straight, and turn the whole body into a position like wearing an armour.

The armour mantra that we have to recite, says,  *om dhām vajrāyuh*. Although most mantras usually cannot be translated, this mantra roughly says that “*om* granting the adamantine life(-span).”

---

<sup>350</sup> 五神通 (Sk. *pañcabhijñā*), the five supernatural powers. 1) 天眼通 (Sk. *divyacakṣus*) the deva-vision, instantaneous view of anything anywhere in the form-realm. 2) 天耳通 (Sk. *divyaśrotra*) the ability to hear any sound anywhere. 3) 他心通 (Sk. *paracitta-jñāna*) the ability to know the thoughts of all other minds. 4) 宿命通 (Sk. *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti-jñāna*) the knowledge of all formed existences of self and others. 5) 神通 (Sk. *ṛddhi-sākṣātkriyā*) the power to be anywhere or do anything at will. (DCBT 1934: 123.)

The adamantine fist 金剛拳 *mudrā* and this armour spell are the links with Fugen Enmei bodhisattva, for the *mudrā* and the armour are usually described as the bodhisattva's seal and symbol (Jp. *sa[n]mayaigyō* 三昧耶形, or shortly *sangyō* 三形).<sup>351</sup> The seal – besides being cited in almost all of the iconographical or ritual manuals – is shown as a hand gesture in some of the two armed and mandala images, as well as the symbol is occasionally depicted with the iconography.<sup>352</sup>

### III.2.5. *Homa* Ritual

Then the ritual sphere (Jp. *dan* 壇) of the *homa* (Jp. *goma* 護摩) fire ritual for long life is described, with all the instructions, including what needs to be thrown into the fire.

Finally, instead of the usual *sūtra* ending with the Buddha telling the audience to uphold the teachings, here we are given more instructions, such as when to do the ritual, and all the benefits it will bring us. These newly expounded benefits are as follows,

- the country will be safe and peaceful
- there will be no kinds of misfortunes or sickness
- the winds and rains will be in a proper time
- all the sages and saints will help and protect those people

Of these benefits I should highlight the first and third, namely that by performing this long life *homa* ritual the country will be protected and that the weather will be in proper time, which probably meant that the crops will be fine, therefore there will be sufficient amount of food. These features fit the 8<sup>th</sup> century tendencies in China, when the three masters, especially Amoghavajra, became exceedingly popular among the emperors of the Tang Dynasty, serving their purposes just right with the esoteric practices. Something quite similar took place in Japan at the beginnings.

(For more about the *homa* ritual described in the adamantine life-span texts, see Chapter V. The Rituals, esp. pp. 244-248.)

---

<sup>351</sup> The distinguishing symbol of a Buddha or bodhisattva, e.g. the Lotus of Guanyin. (DCBT 1934: 67.)

<sup>352</sup> TZ vol. 3: 698.

### III.2.6. Postscripts in the *Kyō hō* and *Darani kyō* Texts

Only the *Kyō hō* and the *Darani kyō* texts have postscripts. Both were written in 1801 and inform us of the many occasions these texts had been copied. The postscript below questions, however, whether this text is the same as the *Nenju hō*. The author of the postscript is a monk called Jijun 慈順 (1735-1816). He writes that the copy was made by the *tripitaka* master Kaidō 快道 (1751-1810) of the Sōjiin temple 総持院 (Buzan branch 豊山流 of the Tōmitsu tradition). The addition by Jijun was in 1801. He highlights that this is like the *Nenju hō* text, but many parts are omitted, and was translated by Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi together.

### III.3. The *Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō* Text

The *Issai kyō* is the shortest of all five texts, however other than the title and the mantras, it is not connected to the other adamant life-span scriptures. Considering the deities, the sermon, and the benefits it is closer to the *Fugen Enmei scripture*. However, it seems that it has two other versions translated in different times: the *Shobutsu kyō* and the *Sokujo kyō*. It was probably Zhixu in the 17<sup>th</sup> century who discovered this connection between the *Issai* and *Shobutsu kyō*, and then Nanjō cited it in his catalogue as well.<sup>353</sup>

All three texts are the same seeing their contents. The differences are in the style and vocabulary of the translations, probably owing it to the difference in time when they were made. The first was the *Shobutsu kyō*, translated by Devaprajñā at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, then it was the *Issai kyō*, translated by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra in possibly the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The last text was the *Sokujo kyō*, which is the work of Dānapāla, at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The *Fugen Enmei scripture* might have originated in these scriptures, but it was expanded with the Samantabhadra becoming the long life

---

<sup>353</sup> Nanjio 1883: 213.

bodhisattva.

The principle dialogue is between Śākyamuni and the Four Heavenly Guardians. The Buddha expounds the four fears, which are the four sufferings: life, old age, sickness and death, and highlights that among these the mostly feared is death. So the guardians ask the Buddha to expound this teaching for the sake of all sentient beings. The Buddha looks to the east and snaps his fingers and summons the Tathāgatas of the ten directions and by their help he turns the dharma wheel which makes the sentient beings' life-span increase and avoid the fear of dying young. Then the Tathāgatas preached the adamant life-span *dhāraṇī*.

This first part is almost exactly the same in the three versions, however we find some modifications in the words they use. For example it is only the *Issai kyō* that expounds *dhāraṇīs*, the other two texts simply say 'spell' (Jp. *ju* 呪). Again, in the previous text the word used for the *bodhi* is its simple Chinese (Ch. *puti*, Jp. *bodai* 菩提), while in the other two it is the transliteration of its longer name, the *anuttarā-samyak-saṃbodhi* (Jp. *anutara sanyaku sanbodai* 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提), meaning the 'unexcelled complete enlightenment'.<sup>354</sup> The alterations in the texts can be the results of having been translated to Chinese from different original Sanskrit (or Tibetan) texts, and of the different eras they were translated in.<sup>4</sup>

In the next part first the Vajradhara bodhisattvas then the Four Heavenly Kings (Jp. Shitennō 四天王, Sk. Lokapāla)<sup>355</sup> expound the long life *dhāraṇīs* one by one, naming their aims as well. Here the major difference lies in the names of the guardian kings, for the *Issai* and *Shobutsu kyō* uses their transliterated versions, but the ... *kyō* uses their Chinese names (in the order of the text):

---

<sup>354</sup> The highest correct and complete, or universal knowledge or awareness, the perfect wisdom of a buddha. (DCBT 1934: 290.)

<sup>355</sup> 四天王 (四大天王) Caturmahārājas, or Lokapālas; the four *deva*-kings. Indra's external 'generals' who dwell each on a side of Mount Meru, and who ward off from the world the attacks of malicious spirits, or asuras, hence their name 護世四天王 the four deva-kings, guardians of the world. Their abode is the 四天王天 Caturmahārājakāyikas; and their titles are: East Jikokuten 持國天 Deva who keeps (his) kingdom; colour white; name Dhṛtarsaṣṭra. South Zōchōten 增長天 Deva of increase and growth; blue; name Virūḍhaka. West Kōmokuten 廣目天 The broad-eyed (also ugly-eyed) *deva* (perhaps a form of Siva); red; name Virūpākṣa. North Tamonten 多聞天 The *deva* who hears much and is well-versed; yellow; name Vaiśravaṇa, or Dhanada; he is a form of Kuvera, the god of wealth. These are the four giant temple guardians introduced as such to China by Amogha; cf. 四天王經. (DCBT 1934: 173.)

- Vaiśravaṇa – his transliteration is not given (Jp. Tamonten 多聞天 or Bishamonten 毘沙門天)
- Virūdhaka 毘樓勒叉 (Jp. Zōchōten 增長天)
- Dhṛtarāṣṭra 堤頭賴吒 (Jp. Jikokuten 持国天)
- Virūpakṣa 毘樓博叉 (Jp. Kōmokuten 広目天)

The last part again can be said that regarding its content is the same in all three texts, but the *Shobutsu kyō* is the longest, the *Sokujo kyō* is a bit briefer than that, and the *Issai kyō* is by far the shortest. They mostly list similar benefits, but phrased differently. The *Issai kyō* lists two major benefits giving two scenarios:

1. If the sentient beings read the scripture and recite the mantra once, then they will be respected and will not be reborn in the wrong paths (only the *Issai kyō* mentions the number three here), and their life-span will be increased;
2. If they read and recite them every day for the sake of the sentient beings, then their fear of dying young and of short life, bad dreams, death by curse or Rākshasas, demons, will be gone and they will not be harmed by water, fire, weapons, and poisons, they will be protected by all the Tathāgatas.

The other two scriptures list the same, but in different words. However, the *Shobutsu kyō* gives the outlines of a ritual which is omitted in the other two texts. It names twenty one various platforms to be erected on the eighth day of specific months, the number the *dhāraṇī* must be recited and the offerings for the platforms.

Then all three texts are finished with the same words that after the Buddha finished preaching this scripture all in his audience rejoiced and upheld this dharma respectfully.

### III.4. The Fugen Enmei Sūtra

The canonical iconography is described in the Fugen Enmei scripture which makes it the most significant written source in our iconographic investigation. Out of the five *sūtras* related to the adamant life-span this is the only one with instructions to an image, without which we do not have the features of the bodhisattva. (For full English translation see Appendix B.)



The *sūtra* shows many corresponding parts with the previously examined *Issai kyō*. It can also be divided into four smaller parts, although the first two parts are expanded with various events and communication including Samantabhadra, and apart from this bodhisattva, the main characters, the places, and the *dhāraṇīs* also accords with the *Issai kyō* text.

The beginning part the setting of the sermon is introduced, just like above, but the circumstances of how Samantabhadra obtained the powers of the buddhas (to help the sentient beings achieve enlightenment) and the adamantine life-span, are also explained here. This part lasts until the end of the first – and longest – *dhāraṇī*. The second part starts with the Buddha expounding the various benefits, and also some instructions to be followed in order to attain these benefits, and most importantly, how Fugen Enmei bosatsu's image should be drawn. The third part is comprises the vows of the Four Heavenly Kings, their testimonials, and *dhāraṇīs* of long life with which they help the sentient beings. The last part defines the various means of acquiring the benefits.

The main character is Samantabhadra, who is empowered by the Tathāgatas, and abodes in the *samādhi* of the adamantine life-span, thus becoming Samantabhadrayū (Fugen of Long Life). The bodhisattva is among a gathering of great *bhikkṣu* monks, bodhisattvas, *mahāsattvas*, heavenly beings and men, who are all listening to the Buddha. The form of address here is simply the 'Buddha' 佛 which usually refers to Śākyamuni, the Historical Buddha. As we have seen above, in three of the four other scriptures, on the other hand, it is Vairocana (Jp. Birushana 毘盧遮那) expounding the teachings and ritual instructions, the central buddha of the esoteric traditions.<sup>356</sup> The Four Heavenly Kings are also present, as the guardians who pledge themselves to help Samantabhadra Bodhisattva in his task of helping sentient beings attain the adamantine life-span, and then, eventually, enlightenment.

The text starts with the usual phrase of “Thus have I heard (如是我聞), after which comes the basic description of the sermon. Samantabhadra emerges out of the secret *samādhi* of the Tathāgatas, and showed his supernatural powers (which are not elaborated further). Then comes his empowerment by the many buddhas (諸佛加持), and the preaching of the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī*, which has many benefits for the sentient beings, first and

---

<sup>356</sup> Only the *Issai kyō* differs, in which the Buddha is also Śākyamuni.

foremost, it prolongs their life and so they will not die an untimely or violent death. As another benefit it also allows them to obtain the adamantine life-span, and through that, they can achieve the Bodhi and the stage of non-retrogression.

The appearance of the notion of Bodhi again corresponds with the previous text, it is the abbreviated form of the previously explained *anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*, the highest correct, and universal knowledge (Samantabhadra).<sup>357</sup> The stage of non-retrogression refers to a bodhisattva, who progressed so far as to never retrograde to a lower state of attainment (Sk. *avaivartika*, *avivartin*, or *aparivartya*).<sup>358</sup>

The three benefits listed above can be regarded as a progress from worldly benefits, which are expounded in the other scriptures relating to the adamantine life-span, to spiritual goals that are offered by Buddhism. The reaching of the Bodhi is new compared to the other texts.

The next scene is when the Buddha summons the Tathāgatas of the worlds in the ten directions, who are as numerous as the sand particles in the River Ganges, they fill up the skies and give off light that is like Indra's net (各放光明如因陀羅網). He does that by transforming his heart into (precious) light (於心轉光明). All these phrases and metaphors are quite common in Buddhist texts.<sup>359</sup>

Then the story continues with one of the most important scenes, when Samantabhadra becomes Samantabhadrayū, which part is cited on every occasion that Fugen Enmei bodhisattva is examined. The bodhisattva acquires the heart seal of all buddhas, then dwells in the adamantine life-span *samādhi*. Then with his unobstructed supernatural powers he preaches the *dhāraṇī* of the adamantine life-span. We arrive to the end of the first part of the text.<sup>360</sup>

---

<sup>357</sup> DCBT 1934: 290.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.* 294.

<sup>359</sup> The sand particle is the symbol and usual reference to great numbers, meaning “infinity” or “incalculable in number.” *Indra's net* (Sk. *Indrajāla*, Jp. *Indaramō* 因陀羅網) is also a widely used metaphor in Buddhist texts, but peculiar to the Chinese Huayan school (Jp. Kegon-shū 華嚴宗), where it symbolizes of “how all things in existence are defined by their interconnection with all other things, but without losing their own independent identity.” The light of the Buddha is again a typical motif, which is inherent from the very beginning of Buddhism, it already appears in the traditional description of Gautama's birth. This light usually refers to the luminous nature of thought, the thought of enlightenment, which shines through all objects.

<sup>360</sup> There are six *dhāraṇīs* in this scripture, the first one (the longest of all) is called the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī*, and the other five are the long life *dhāraṇīs*. All is given in transliterated Chinese text, there are no

The adamantine life-span *samādhi* that he dwells in, is explained by scholars in other words as the *samādhi* of long life.<sup>361</sup> After the *dhāraṇī* was preached many extraordinary supernatural things happened, and along with them the text explains that the sick and suffering recovered. This part explains why this bodhisattva's ritual was used in time of illness. We have many records in the Japanese sources that accounts the ritual being used for the curing of somebody from their sickness. The former texts also mention the Vajradhara Bodhisattvas, or *vajra*-holders, who also preach a long life *dhāraṇī* and with the great bodhisattvas and *mahāsattvas* all helped prolong the sentient beings' lives.

And with this, Samantabhadra and the Four Heavenly Kings also obtain the adamantine life-span. Then the Buddha speaks again, after snapping his fingers, he first praises Samantabhadra and the Four Heavenly Kings who can benefit the sentient beings with joy and goodwill (能快善利益衆生). He also gives out the instructions that the sentient beings should do in order to gain the benefits, to be cured from their sickness. The instructions are clear and simply:

- take a bath 沐浴
- wear new and pure clothes 著新淨衣
- burn incense 燒香
- scatter flowers 散花
- uphold my mantra of long life in their mind 持我延命心眞言

These are the usual ritual instructions found in many esoteric scriptures. And again the benefit is described as by increasing their life-span, they will be freed from sicknesses. Then again, another set of instructions follow, which are for the obtaining of the adamantine life-span:

- build a ritual sphere in a pure place 建立道場於清淨屋舍
- invite twenty-one pure monks 請三七比丘清淨僧

---

*siddham* syllables, like in the adamantine life-span scriptures. The Tendai iconography and ritual manual of Jōnen 靜然, the Gyōrinshō 行林抄, gives *siddham* syllables to the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī*, but their source is not named. The transliterated version of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and Devaprajñā is also quoted. Vajrabodhi's text is the *Adamantine Life-span sūtra preached by the Buddha* (T 1135), Amoghavajra's text is the *Fugen Enmei scripture* (T 1136), and Devaprajñā's is the *Shobutsu jūe darani-kyō* (T 1346). The last one is the earliest of the three (end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century).

At the end of the 1960s a Japanese scholar, researcher of the esoteric teachings, Hatsuzaki Shōjun 初崎正純 gave a translation, for which he used the extant Tibetan version of Devaprajñā's text. For more see Hatsuzaki 1968.

<sup>361</sup> See for example the explanation of Sawa's often quoted *Butsuzō zuten*, which is still one of the most valuable encyclopaedia of the iconographies of Japanese Buddhist deities. (Sawa 1970: 84.)

- read and recite this scripture each forty-nine times 轉讀此經各四十九遍
- and again this *dhāraṇī* ten thousand times 別持是陀羅尼滿十萬遍

It is clear that the increasing of the life-span and the obtaining of the adamantine life-span are two different concepts, and the set of instructions for acquiring them are not quite the same in significance either. In the case of the second set, we understand that the intervention of the Buddhist priests are required, showing that it is more substantial and spiritual in nature than the increasing of one's life-span, which can be regarded as a meagre worldly gain. This brief ritual "manual" is more detailed in the adamantine life-span texts.

The basis for the principal subject of this dissertation is the *original* iconography of our image. By emphasizing the originality of this iconography I merely would like to point out the first and utmost problem that I am addressing throughout this dissertation: why is there a completely different way of portraying this esoteric deity when there was a canonical image described in a scripture? I may not have an answer to that yet, since it was a question from the very beginning of its arrival to Japan, and not even the earliest discussions about it has given a clear solution to the problem.

The description of the image is explained in detail (see Chapter IV. The Images). This description also matches a number of the surviving two-armed paintings, such as the Matsunoodera image (NT, Plate 2), or the one in the Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館本 (ICP, Plate 11, formerly owned by the Shōrenin temple 青蓮院). I find it curious though that there is not one extant statue with this canonical iconography.

After the description of the image the Buddha repeats again what is to be done, but now with the principle image involved, with one of the benefits described at the end. He emphasizes that the ritual sphere is to be built with this image.

In the third part of the scripture we listen to the oaths of the Four Heavenly Kings, with their *dhāraṇī* and the benefits they will bring to the sentient beings. They vow to assist Samantabhadra, prolonger of life, to bind themselves together to protect and make sure that there is no untimely death. They also promise to descend to the pure ritual spheres, and if they failed to do so, then they would retrogress and do not attain liberation. They name Jambūdvīpa, as the place where this doctrine is expounded, which is one of the four continents south of Mt. Sumeru, inhabited by humans, so basically they say here that this ritual is only known to humans. After their initial vow all the Vajradhara Bodhisattvas say

in unison the long life *dhāraṇī*. Then each of the Heavenly Kings take their own pledge one after another, all of them saying that empowered by all the Tathāgatas they expound the long life *dhāraṇī*, which makes all the sentient beings increase their life-span and avoid untimely death (令一切衆生獲得壽命無夭橫). The four kings are called by their transliterated Sanskrit names, the first is Bishamonten 毘沙門天 (actually he is Vaiśravaṇa in the Shitennō [Jp. Tamonten 多聞天]), then it is Virūdhaka 毘樓勒叉天 (Jp. Zōchōten 增長天), Virūpakṣa 毘樓博叉天 (Jp. Kōmokuten 広目天), and Dhṛtarāṣṭra 提頭賴吒天 (Jp. Jikokuten 持国天).

In the last part of the text we are offered again different instructions for the ritual, but this time, we get a longer list of benefits and the recipients' group is also widened. According to this text, the sentient beings will obtain the benefits, if they copy the *sūtra*, uphold and recite it, and in addition, they can also do so by drawing Samantabhadrayū's image. This notion only introduced in the present text, and that may be the reason why the detailed depiction is described. Another way to the benefits is the performing of the ritual on the first, eighth, fifteenth days of the month, with a ritual sphere built, forty-nine lanterns lit, and flowers and various offerings placed on the altar space, just as the ritual texts described above. Here it is also important that the practitioner repent their faults in the past. And what would they gain? They will not be reborn in the three wrong paths, or born again at all. And the four kinds of Buddhist disciples also gain the riddance of fear of short life or unnatural deaths; bad dreams at night; death by curse, maledictions, and fearsome *rākshasas*, birds' calls, or goblins. Another new aspect of the rewards are the freedom from the bodily harms of water, fire, weapons and poisons. The sermon is then finished and the text ends with a usual *sūtra finale*, with all the attending beings rejoicing and accepting the Buddhas words with faith.

As we saw, this text, and the ritual related to it, is not aimed merely at the increasing of one's life-span, it promises much more. The first and foremost benefit on the list is unquestionably the achieving of the *Bodhi*, or in other words, the aspiration for enlightenment. This one feature helps us determine that it is not just a text for worldly benefits, such as the earlier esoteric scriptures (by which characteristic they may be cast in the group of the miscellaneous texts), but it also contains the ultimate goal of Buddhism, although, it offers a shorter and quicker way to achieve it, as do many other esoteric scriptures.

## IV. The Images

After the explanation of the historical background and textual basis, I now turn to the actual images of Fugen Enmei bosatsu. While the bodhisattva itself appears to be generally unknown among Japanese people today, more than it deserves to be, its images are rather often on display not just at grand Buddhist art exhibitions, organized by one of the national museums, but in smaller, regional and municipal museums as well. I have found some images in exhibition catalogues of prefectural art museums, showcasing their traditional arts, among which Fugen Enmei bosatsu makes an appearance from time to time. For instance, such was the case with the discovery of the Jinryūji 神竜寺 or the Daijionji 大慈恩寺 paintings.

The first part of my research consisted of the gathering of these images, then setting up a chronology, which proved to be a challenge especially with the lack of information on painters, dates, or with the constant question of originality. As Ajima Noriaki 安嶋紀昭, a professor of Hiroshima University 広島大学 pointed out to me, there can be many forged Buddhist paintings in the museums of the world, including those of Japan as well. In the last three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many factors contributed to the selling and forging of Buddhist paintings.<sup>362</sup> First of all, with the wealthy Westerners pouring into the exotic and until then unreachable country – who were mostly zealous but quite ignorant when it came to Japanese artworks –, we can imagine how imitating and forging Buddhist paintings could have become a booming business.<sup>363</sup>

Similarly, some paintings went missing, and even more were, undoubtedly, destroyed. As a direct result of the extreme hostility against Buddhism right after the Meiji restoration (Jp. *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈)<sup>364</sup> beginning with the government enacted edicts which

---

<sup>362</sup> For more on the situation of Buddhism and its art from the Edo periods onwards see Graham 2007, especially Chapter Eight: From Icon to Art, 1868-1945. For more on the attitude toward art during the Meiji period see Guth 1996.

<sup>363</sup> Telling whether a painting is genuine or not, requires thorough examinations of all Fugen Enmei paintings in Japanese temples and Western collections, which exceeds the limits of this dissertation, therefore it will not be discussed.

<sup>364</sup> The translation is “destroy the buddhas, abandon Shaka (Śākyamuni).” This was the slogan under which a great number of temples were destroyed along with their treasures from 1868 to as late as 1876.

separated Buddhism from Shinto (Jp. *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離), the remaining Buddhist temples found themselves in a financial strain and needed to make money where they could. As the hanging scrolls or iconographical drawings were easiest to sell, we can imagine how many of them could have become a part of private (or public) collections. This could also explain how the images of Fugen Enmei bosatsu could have ended up in several Western collections throughout the world, which later were usually bequeathed to prestigious museums such as the Museum of Fine Art in Boston, or The British Museum in London.<sup>365</sup>

The second part of the research took up the analysis of the extant images, comparing them to the written sources, and then giving a chronology with different lineages of the iconography.<sup>366</sup> I am taking into consideration every kind of source that has a connection to the images: written sources, which discuss the iconography, or write about any of the known or unknown images, ink drawings in iconographical collections of monks, and of course the icons themselves. I am separating the iconographies by their main types, so the two-armed and twenty-armed depictions are examined separately, with their subtypes, and in chronological order from their origins to how they are regarded today. This also means that for example the statues are discussed with the twenty-armed images, since there is no surviving two-armed type known.

---

<sup>365</sup> For more on Fugen Enmei images in Western collections see the subchapter of the extant images below.

<sup>366</sup> My Japanese supervisor and mentor at Ōtani University, Saitō Nozomu 齋藤望 accompanied and assisted me in my first hand examinations of paintings. During the summers of 2015, 2016 and 2017, we managed to examine – and sometimes photograph – altogether twenty paintings in different parts of Japan:

- Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館 (Nara) painting
- Kōchi Prefectural Museum of History 高知県立歴史民俗資料館 (Kōchi), the painting of the Ryūjōin temple 龍乗院
- Tateyama Municipal Museum 館山市立博物館 (Chiba), the painting of the Edo-Meiji period painter, Kawana Rakuan
- Enryakuji temple 延暦寺 (Shiga), five paintings from the Kamakura to the Edo period
- Daigoji temple 醍醐寺 (Kyoto), eleven paintings from the Kamakura to the Edo period, including Enmei and Fugen Enmei images
- Ninnaji temple 仁和寺 (Kyoto) painting

I am also grateful to Professor Ajima Noriaki 安嶋紀昭 who shared with me his insights while showing me the infrared and roentgen photos of the two national treasure paintings of the Jikōji 持光寺 and Matsunoodera 松尾寺 temples. Outside Japan, I have seen one painting, a statue and a *zushi* at the Guimet, a painting at the British Museum and a *zushi* at the Ferenc Hopp Museum for Eastern Asiatic Arts. The painting at Guimet and the *zushi* at Munich was brought to my attention at the site of Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections (JBAE), which was recently set up. (URL: <http://aterui.i.hosei.ac.jp:8080/index.html>) It is not yet, however, fully operational in my opinion, for there are only three Fugen Enmei images registered on the website, while there are altogether nine in Europe that I know of.

In this chapter I will introduce and describe in detail the different types of images, meanwhile discussing the changes that happened in the iconography. First I give a general introduction where I will list all the problems I have encountered during my research, regarding the images themselves. Then, I examine in detail the various extant paintings, drawings and statues of the different periods from an iconographical point of view. I am citing the Plate numbers of the individual images, and presenting the ink drawings of certain written sources, and analogous images as Figures throughout the text.

I will quote all the written sources which mention either of the images.<sup>367</sup> For the citation of the still extant paintings, drawings and sculptures I will use the numbers that are given to the images in the catalogue at the end of the dissertation.

#### IV.1. Samantabhadra as the Basis of the Iconography

The scripture and the images leave us no doubt about the origins of the Fugen Enmei iconography: the basis is the depiction of Samantabhadra bodhisattva (Ch. Puxian pusa, Jp. Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩), usually translated as Universal Knowledge or Universally Good. He is first mentioned in the *Sūtra of the Lotus of Compassion* (Sk. *Karunāpundarikā sūtra*, Ch. *Beihua jing*, Jp. *Hike kyō* 悲華經),<sup>368</sup> translated by Dharmarakṣa (Jp. Donmushin 曇無讖, 385-433). He is mostly known from his appearance in the *Lotus scripture* (Jp. *Hokke kyō* 法華經),<sup>369</sup> where, in the twenty-eighth chapter, he is described as:

世尊於後五百歲濁惡世中其有受持是經典者我當守護除其衰患令得安隱使無伺求得其便者若魔若魔子若魔女若魔民若爲魔所著者若夜叉若羅刹若鳩槃荼(荼)若毘舍闍若吉遮(蔗)若富單那若韋陀羅等諸惱人者皆不得便是人若行若立讀誦此經我爾時乘六牙白象王與大菩薩衆俱詣其所而自現身供養守護安慰其心亦爲供養法華經故是人若坐思惟此經爾

---

<sup>367</sup> I am using sources that were published or digitalized. The examination of the archives of the many temples will be part of a future research.

<sup>368</sup> T 0157, vol. 3: 167-233.

<sup>369</sup> T 0262, vol. 9: 1-62.



時我復乘白象王現其人前其人若於法華經有所忘失一句一偈我當教之與共讀誦還令通利<sup>370</sup>

O Bhagavat! If there are those who preserve this sūtra in the troubled world of five hundred years after, I will protect them and rid them of their heavy cares, cause them to attain happiness, and allow no one to strike at them through their weaknesses. I will not give Māra any chance to afflict them, nor the sons of Māra, daughters of Māra, minions of Māra, those possessed by Māra, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *kumbhāṇḍas*, *piśācas*, *kṛtyas*, *pūtanas*, or *vetālas*. If they recite this sūtra, whether walking or standing, I will then come before them on a white elephant king with six tusks, together with the assembly of great bodhisattvas, manifest myself, pay homage and protect them, and console their minds for the sake of revering the Lotus Sūtra. If they sit contemplating upon this sūtra, I will then manifest myself before them on a white elephant king. If they forget a single line or a verse in the Lotus Sūtra, I will teach and recite it with them and cause them to become proficient in it.<sup>371</sup>

However, this part of the scripture is highly debated whether it is a supplement to the originally twenty-seven chapter long scripture, which was translated into Chinese by the Indian monk Dharmarakṣa in 286. However, its significance as one of the first truly Mahāyāna scripture, and its teachings were recognised throughout the Buddhist world, and in India, China, and Japan as well.<sup>372</sup>

Then his birth and depiction are explained in more detail in the *Samantabhadra Contemplation Sūtra, Preached by the Buddha* (Ch. *Foshuo guan puxian pusa xingfa jing*, Jp. *Bussetsu kan Samantabhadra gyōhō kyō* 佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經, cited hereafter as the *Kan Fugen kyō*),<sup>373</sup> translated by Dharmamitra (Jp. *Dommamitta* or *Dommumitta* 曇摩蜜多, 曇無蜜多, 356–442):

阿難普賢菩薩乃生東方淨妙國土(...) 普賢菩薩身量無邊音聲無邊色像無邊欲來此國入自在神通促身令小閻浮提人三障重故以智慧力化乘白象其象六牙七支跂地其七支下生七蓮華(其)象色鮮白白 中上者頗梨(玻梨)雪山不得爲比(象)身長四百五十由旬高四百由旬於六牙端有六浴池(...) 其象頭上有三化人一捉金輪一持摩尼珠一執金剛杵舉杵擬象象即能行脚不履地躡虛而遊離地七尺地有印文於印文中千輻轂輞皆悉具足一一輞間生一大蓮華此蓮華上生一化象(...) 其蓮華臺是大摩尼有一菩

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid*, 61a23 – b05.

<sup>371</sup> English translation from Kubo – Yuyama 2007: 313-314. Published by the BDK.

<sup>372</sup> The latest extensive study was carried out by Donald S. Lopez Jr, the findings published in 2016. See Lopez Jr, Donald S. 2016. *The Lotus Sūtra: a biography*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

<sup>373</sup> T 0277, vol. 9: 389-394.

薩結加(跏)趺坐名曰普賢身白玉色五十種光光五十種色以爲項光身諸毛孔流出金光其金光端無量化佛諸化菩薩以爲眷屬<sup>374</sup>

"Ānanda! The Bodhisattva Universal Worthy was born in the Eastern Land of Pure Wonder. (...) "The Bodhisattva Universal Worthy is boundless in the size of his body, boundless in the sound of his voice, and boundless in the form of his image. Desiring to come to this world, he makes use of his sovereign psychic powers and compresses his stature to a smaller size. Because the people in Jambudvīpa have the Three Weighty Obstacles, by the power of his wisdom he appears by transformation as mounted on a white elephant. The elephant has six tusks, and seven limbs, (supports its body on the ground?). Under its seven limbs, seven lotus flowers grow. The elephant is white as snow, the most brilliant of all shades of white, so pure that even crystal and the Himalaya Mountains cannot compare with it. The body of the elephant is four hundred and fifty *yojanas*<sup>375</sup> in length and four hundred *yojanas* in height. At the tip of the six tusks rest six bathing pools. (...) On the elephant's head there are three transformed attendants: one holds a golden wheel, another a jewel, and another a *vajra* pestle. (...) The elephant does not tread on the ground but hovers in the air, seven feet above the earth, yet the elephant leaves its footprints on the ground. The footprints are altogether perfect, marking the wheel's hub with a thousand spokes. From each hallmark of the wheel's hub grows a great lotus flower, upon which an elephant appears by transformation. (...) On the top there is a Bodhisattva, called Universal Worthy, who sits cross-legged, whose body, pure as a white jewel, radiates fifty rays of fifty different colours forming a brightness around his head. From the pores of his body he emits rays of light and innumerable transformed Buddhas are at the ends of the rays accompanied by the transformed Bodhisattvas as their retinue.<sup>376</sup>

---

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.* 0389c15 – 0390b02.

<sup>375</sup> *Yojana* (Jp. yujun 由旬) a Vedic measure of distance that was used in ancient India. Described as anciently a royal day's march for the army. One *Yojana* is about 11.3 – 14.5 km. (DCBT 1934: 197.)

<sup>376</sup> English translation by the Buddhist Text Translation Society.

URL: <http://www.fodian.net/world/0277b.html>



Figure 41. Samantabhadra, Bujōji temple, 12<sup>th</sup> century (NT)  
 Figure 42. Samantabhadra, NNM (Acq. nr. 1009-0), 12<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)  
 Figure 43. Samantabhadra, TNM (Acq. nr. A1), 12<sup>th</sup> century (NT)

He is also a regular character in the *Flower Garland Scripture* (Jp. *Kegon kyō* 華嚴經).<sup>377</sup> In this scripture his ten vows are expounded. So the basic iconography is that of the two-armed bodhisattva sitting on lotus throne, supported by a white elephant king with six tusks with small lotus flowers under his legs. Most of the Samantabhadra images, such as the one at the Bujōji temple 豊乗寺, or the national museums of Tokyo and Nara (Figs. 41-43), show the bodhisattva and the elephant in a  $\frac{3}{4}$  profile image, the latter usually facing right with his body, but turning his head to the left. This depiction with the bodhisattva putting his hands together in front of his chest would become common in Japanese art from the Heian period onwards.

The origins of this iconography, however, are just as unclear as that of its esoteric version, Fugen Enmei bodhisattva's. In the next two subchapters, I am briefly presenting what can be gathered about the Samantabhadra images in India and China, the two conduits to the understanding of the Japanese depictions.

<sup>377</sup> Full title: *Mahāvaiṣṭhī Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (Ch. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing*, Jp. *Daihōkō butsu kegon kyō* 大方広仏華嚴經)

#### IV.1.1. Indian Examples of the Samantabhadra Image

Although India was where the bodhisattva and his image were born, we have only bits and pieces of information to put together a short introductive description. As we have seen before, due to the country's social and religious history, Indian Buddhist images and their conditions, are insufficient to develop an iconographic timeline of the development of the Samantabhadra image. It seems that even if he was present in important Mahāyāna scriptures (such as the *Lotus sūtra*), early images rarely show the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra – as far as we can decode the bodhisattva images. Bhattacharyya's iconography encyclopaedia lists variants of his depictions, which can be one explanation to the difficulty of his identification in early images of Indian Buddhism.<sup>378</sup> He quotes two Indian sources for his iconography, one is the *Niṣpannayoāvalī* (Jp. *Kukkyō yuga man* 究竟瑜伽鬘),<sup>379</sup> the other is the *Sādhnamālā* (Jp. *Jōjū hō man* 成就法鬘).<sup>380</sup>

- 1) in the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara maṇḍala* he is described showing the *varada* (boon granting) *mudrā* with the right hand, while he holds a sword on lotus in his left;
- 2) in the *Durgatipariśodhana maṇḍala* he holds a bunch of jewels in the right hand and the left rests on his hip;
- 3) in the *Sādhnamālā* he holds a jewel on a lotus and forms the *varada mudrā*.<sup>381</sup>

Although these sources may have been created later than the period we are interested in, but they were developed from the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries onwards, and it also shows that Samantabhadra had by then different roles and iconographies – sometimes with multiple arms – laid down.<sup>382</sup>

The bodhisattva is only portrayed from the 7th century in India, usually within the set of the eight bodhisattvas of *maṇḍalas*, either in cave temples or in images of *stūpa maṇḍalas*. Among the great Ellora cave temples, there are many examples for this eight bodhisattva mandala, which would become a centre motif in later esoteric teachings. As I have pointed

---

<sup>378</sup> Bhattacharyya 1958: 83-84.

<sup>379</sup> Compendium of tantric *sādhana*s with description of *maṇḍalas* and deities. The author is Abhayākara Gupta (d. ca. 1125), Indian tantric Buddhist master, born either in Orissa, or Northeast India near Bengal. He wrote two treatises on Indian tantric iconography, the *Vajrāvalī* (Jp. *Kongō man* 金剛鬘) besides the cited *Niṣpannayoāvalī*. (PDB 2013: 2; 593.)

<sup>380</sup> 'Garland of Methods,' a compendium of some three hundred tantric *sādhana*s, composed between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. (PDB 2013: 732.)

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>382</sup> Bhattacharya 1949: 23-24.

out above, this set of deities appears in two ways: either in sets of four on each side of the central buddha, or in a nine-square diagram panel where they surround the central image. The images of these caves become easier to identify, for their attributes are in a better state and more distinctive. One of these eight bodhisattvas is Samantabhadra, as scholars have identified the sword-bearing deity.<sup>383</sup> In Ellora, researchers identified his image in a nine-square mandala in Cave 11 (11.2 mandala), and as part of the three sets of bodhisattvas in Cave 12 (12.1, 12.2, 12.3).<sup>384</sup>



**Figure 44. Ratnasambhava Buddha and Samantabhadra Bodhisattva with a sword, Stūpa I, Udayagiri, Orissa, India, 10<sup>th</sup> century**

The Orissan sites – Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Vajragiri – of the 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century, provide some later, more mature examples of Samantabhadra's images. Samantabhadra remains a sword-bearer, and is present as the attendant bodhisattva to the buddha image on the Southern side (probably Ratnasambhava, one of the *dhyāni* buddhas) of the Stūpa I (Fig. 44). Indian scholars have professed some doubts about this identification of Samantabhadra, since, as they point out, there are other sword-bearers in Indian Buddhist iconography, such as Mañjuśrī.<sup>385</sup> Nevertheless, the sword remains Samantabhadra's major attribute in Orissan images, just as was in Ellora, and it is possible that he is the sword-bearer attendant of the buddha in the Southern niche.<sup>386</sup>

---

<sup>383</sup> Malandra 1993, 1996.

<sup>384</sup> Malandra 1993: 77-78.

<sup>385</sup> Bandhyopadhyay 2004: 70. For evidence of this ambiguity about the buddhas and bodhisattvas, he also cites the archaeological survey of Chanda Ramaprasad from the 1930s.

<sup>386</sup> Donaldson 2001: 135.

#### IV.1.2. Samantabhadra Images in China

The images of Samantabhadra are much more current in Chinese art than they were at Indian Buddhist sites. Although the Lotus scripture clearly describes the iconography of the bodhisattva on a six-tusked white elephant, it is only on Chinese land that this image is displayed. This discrepancy may be explained by the varying versions of the scripture text. Some extant manuscripts do not include the 28<sup>th</sup> chapter of Samantabhadra, so it is possible that it is a later extension of Chinese Buddhist monks. Out of the six supposed complete translations, the three that are extant all have only twenty seven chapters.<sup>387</sup> The *kuan* (Jp. 観) type Mahāyāna text called the *Sūtra on the Practise of Visualizing the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra* 佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經 was translated by Dharmamitra (Ch. Tanmomiduo, Jp. Donmumitta 曇無蜜多, 356-442) from Kashmir, after 424.<sup>388</sup> This text already contains the description of this white elephant that Samantabhadra rides when appearing to the devotees.<sup>389</sup> Therefore the association of the six-tusked white elephant and Samantabhadra bodhisattva have been made during the previous years, and it may also indicate that it was a Kashmiri “improvement.”

Elephant icons have been standard in Indian Buddhist and other religious art since the beginnings, sometimes as supports or bases for sculptures, columns, or as architectural elements in temples. The six-tusked white elephant is present early on in Indian and Chinese Buddhism, since the conception of the Buddha, in depiction it is a common character in the *jātaka* stories. The Śaḍḍanta jātika tells the story of the elephant tearing out his own tusks for the queen who wanted the animal dead, because that queen had been one of the mates of the elephant in her previous life. Some of the earliest manifestations of this illustration is depicted on the walls of Cave 14 of the Qizil (also Kizil) Caves of a Thousand Buddhas 克孜爾千佛洞 in Kucha (late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> century). The style of the elephant here shows the classic Gupta style of mid-5<sup>th</sup> century Indian art.<sup>390</sup> The elephant also appears as the vehicle of riders, or often of Siddhārtha Bodhisattva, as opposed to the princely figure on his horse.

---

<sup>387</sup> The three scriptures in the Volume 9 of *Taishōzō* are the *Myōhō renge kyō* 妙法蓮華經 (T 0262), translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (239-316) in 286; the *Shō hokke kyō* 正法華經 (T 0263), translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 in 406; and the *Tenbon myōhō renge kyō* 添品妙法蓮華經 (T 0264), translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 in 601-602.

<sup>388</sup> T 0277, vol. 9: 389-394.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.* 389c29

<sup>390</sup> Rhie, Marylin M. 2002: 689.

We see this pairing on the ceiling murals of the Mogao Cave 329 (allegories from the life of the Buddha, Fig. 47), dated to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, to the time of Empress Wu. The elephant, although have only one pair of tusks, stands on lotus flowers, and on the back, on a beautifully ornamented saddle sits Siddhārtha painted as a bodhisattva, turning towards us in a  $\frac{3}{4}$  profile. He is equipped with all the features of the bodhisattvas: the jewelled crown around the topknot, he has two celestial attendants. This scene is animated, the elephant seems to be floating across the ceiling in the big leap he took, clouds are swirling around the figures, heavenly musicians are playing and *asparas* are spreading flowers above them. It is also colourful, the main colours can be identified as red, green, blue and brown. The most intriguing part of the painting is the two small bodhisattvas standing on lotus thrones which seem to be weightless and supported by the two tusks of the elephant.<sup>391</sup> As Whitfield points out in his inspection, the bodhisattvas are painted in late Sui style, and he asserts that this theme is of earlier origins but takes such an important place in cave iconography in the Sui and Early Tang dynasties.<sup>392</sup> Other examples of this depiction are found at Dunhuang, e.g. in Cave 375, dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Early Tang, Fig. 46). We see the same illustration, even the two attendant figures at the end of the elephant tusks – four this time. The elephant is shown in a calm stroll, all his feet are treading on separate lotus flowers, similarly to later Samantabhadra representations. The bodhisattva figure, depicted in  $\frac{3}{4}$  profile, raises his right arm and shows the *abhaya mudrā* (Jp. *semuiin* 施無畏印). The heavenly musician is sitting behind him on the elephant.

---

<sup>391</sup> Whitfield casts attention to Pelliot, who classified them as Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, but cites Angela Howard's 1982 study of the horses and elephants in Chinese Buddhist art for the argument of a correct identification. Whitfield 1995: 307.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*



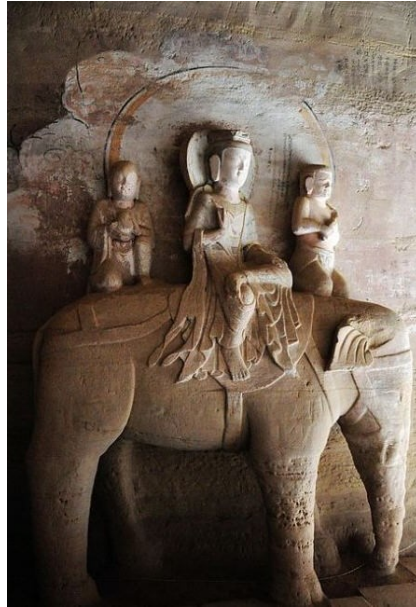


Figure 45. Riders on an Elephant sculpture, Cave 165, Northern Caves, late 6<sup>th</sup> century

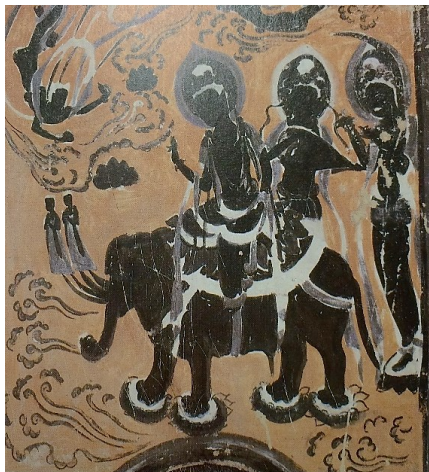


Figure 46. Riders on an Elephant mural, Cave 375, Northern Caves, 7<sup>th</sup> century



Figure 47. Riders on an Elephant mural, Cave 329, Mogao Caves, late 7<sup>th</sup> century

An analogous sculpture is carved a century earlier in Cave 165 of the Northern Caves 北石窟 (Fig. 45), near Qingyang 庆阳, dated by Angela Falco Howard et al. to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, the time of the Northern Zhou Dynasty (557-581), by the stylistic language of the block-like bodies and plain surfaces of the sculptures in the cave.<sup>393</sup> Here, surprisingly, this bodhisattva is already named Samantabhadra.<sup>394</sup> The portrayal of the bodhisattva – shown in  $\frac{3}{4}$  sitting with one leg pendant, rising his right hand to show the *vitarka* (instruction/teaching) *mudrā* – does not differ from the riders on the elephant scene in other

<sup>393</sup> Howard – Li – Wu – Yang 2003: 247-248.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*



early cave temple art, which proves that it could have been (one of) the antecedents of the depiction where Samantabhadra rides a white elephant. During the subsequent centuries, however, the other riders – attendants or heavenly musicians – were demoted to the side of the elephant, and the bodhisattva became the sole focus of the images.

Soper attests that the origin of the Samantabhadra cult – as obscure as it is – should be looked for in the western regions, he names Hadda in Afghanistan as a possible starting-point.<sup>395</sup> He links the *kuan* scripture of Samantabhadra with the *Sūtra on the Mystic Ecstasy, preached by the Buddha* (Ch. *Foshuo guanfo sanmei hai Jing*, Jp. *Bussetsu kanbutsu sanmai kai kyō* 佛說觀佛三昧海經 (T 0643), translated by Buddhahadra (Ch. Fotuobatuoluo, Jp. Buddabattara 仏陀跋陀羅 359-429), another monk who is a native of Kashmir. In this text Samantabhadra is already referred to as a *great bodhisattva* (Jp. *daibosatsu* 大菩薩), highlighted as deity that should be commonly known.<sup>396</sup> Soper gives two anecdotes from the *Prajñāpāramitā commentary* (Skt. *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, Ch. *Dazhidu lun*, Jp. *Daichido ron* 大智度論), written by Nāgārjuna (Ch. Longshu, Jp. Ryūju 龍樹, 150-250), translated to Chinese by Kumārajīva (Ch. Jiumoluoshi, Jp. Kumarajū 鳩摩羅什, 334-413), an Indian monk born in Kucha, the westernmost province of China. These anecdotes tell us of a *Universally Good Bodhisattva* (Ch. *Bianji pusa*, Jp. *Henkichi bosatsu* 遍吉菩薩) who appeared in a vision to a monk, who read that scripture in a cave, as a golden, radiant figure, riding on top of a white elephant.<sup>397</sup> Or to a sick man who went into a *stūpa* to pray to be healed beside the image of this Universally Good bodhisattva, which image healed the sick man.<sup>398</sup> The text here identifies the land of these miracles: west of the Yuezhi 月氏 (i.e. the Kushan land), where the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* is kept (月氏西佛肉髻住處國),<sup>399</sup> otherwise known as Nagarāhāra, the modern Hadda, as Soper finishes his argument.<sup>400</sup> This can further be proven by the French findings at Shotorak monastery near Begram (ancient Kāpiśa, summer capital of the Kushan kings), close to Hadda, where a seated bodhisattva figure is sitting in deep meditation-like pose on a rendered head and shoulders of an elephant, which

---

<sup>395</sup> Soper 1959: 223.

<sup>396</sup> T 0643, vol. 15: 0687b13

<sup>397</sup> Soper 1959; T 1509, vol. 25, 0127a03 – 04.

<sup>398</sup> Soper *ibid.* 224; T 1509, vol. 25, 0126c24 – 28.

<sup>399</sup> T 1509, vol. 25: 0126c24.

<sup>400</sup> Soper 1959: 224.

can be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, according to its late Gandhāran manner (Fig. 48).<sup>401</sup> The image in Meunié's memoirs do not show much of the remnants of the rendered depiction of the elephant, and he actually never names the bodhisattva as Samantabhadra, rather he cites the legend of Indra, who is also depicted sitting on an elephant, but argues that the pensive form of the bodhisattva is usual for Avalokiteśvara.<sup>402</sup>

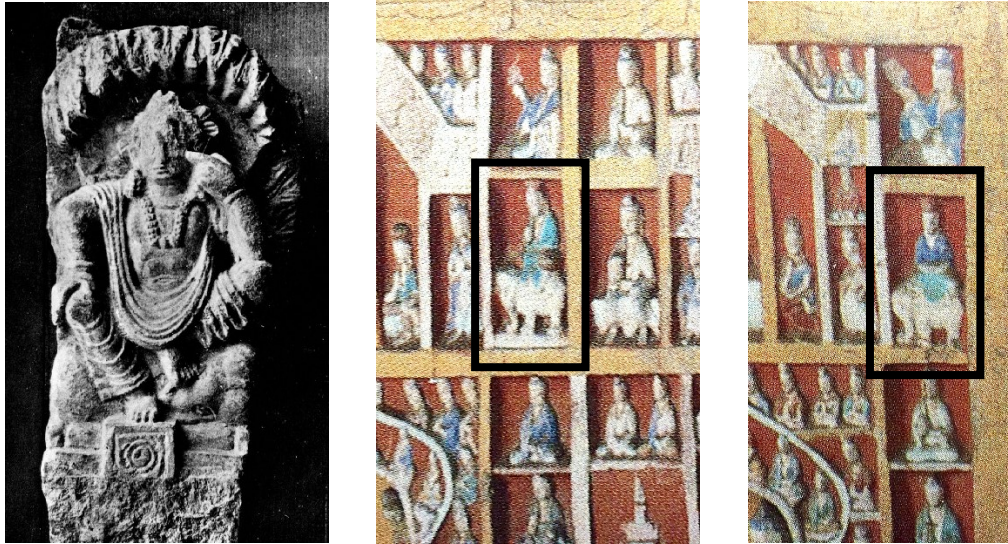


Figure 48. Bodhisattva sitting on an elephant, Shotorak monastery near Begram, 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries

Figure 49. Bodhisattva sitting on an elephant 1, Cave 13, Yungang, 6<sup>th</sup> century

Figure 50. Bodhisattva sitting on an elephant 2, Cave 13, Yungang, 6<sup>th</sup> century

Additional possible early depictions of Samantabhadra are found in Cave 13 at Yungang grottoes 雲崗石窟 (Figs. 49-50). Japanese scholars seem to have positively identified the sculptures found in the niches on the south wall above the entrance as this bodhisattva, and they date the carvings of the niches after the Taihe 太和 era (499 onwards).<sup>403</sup> The two small icons – one (Fig. 49) showing the *vitarka mudrā*, the other (Fig. 50) possibly the *dhyāna mudrā* (Jp. *zenjōin* 禪定印) – demonstrate the iconography which later becomes common for Samantabhadra bodhisattva, so this can be the one of the earliest extant depictions of this bodhisattva on his future *vāhana* (the elephant), however, we cannot find any iconographic basis for the portrayal here, and there is no pairing with the Mañjuśrī image yet.

<sup>401</sup> Meunié 1942: 54-55, no.129, pl. XXV, fig.75.

<sup>402</sup> Meunié *ibid.* Seeing a bodhisattva image sitting on an elephant, it is interesting, though, why the possibility of Samantabhadra did not occur to the author.

<sup>403</sup> Mizuno – Nagahiro 1953: 82.

Later depictions can be only identified as Samantabhadra when the bodhisattva sits on the six-tusked white elephant, because no specific attribute developed for him. Mounted on the elephant the deity usually shows the *vitarka mudrā* (Jp. *an'iin* 安慰印) with the right hand. The bodhisattva depiction of murals or sculptures in various early cave temples are more or less unified in style and only the striking distinctive features, such as the number of heads, arms, special vehicles, help us in the positive identification of their images. However, Samantabhadra can be identified positively from the end of the Sui Dynasty, when the white elephant permanently becomes his featured ride and paired with Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, he will be one of the attendants to Śākyamuni and Vairocana Buddhas. There are plenty examples surviving from the countless Dunhuang grottoes of Samantabhadra (Table 2.), however, there even the earliest cannot be dated earlier than the 8<sup>th</sup> century (High Tang). He is generally portrayed on either side of the main niche of the principal buddha image in the caves. Always on the back of a white elephant, the stylistic changes can be best seen on the murals in Caves 148, 159, 172, 196, and two silk paintings now in the BM (Figs. 51-56).



**Figure 51. Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, Cave 148, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 775**

**Figure 52. Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, Cave 159, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, early 9<sup>th</sup> century**

The elephant is always depicted stepping on lotus flowers, lifting up one of its front legs, indicating that it is painted in motion. Since most of the Samantabhadra images consist of a crowd of assistants, musicians, and other heavenly beings, this crowd can be interpreted as



a procession, marching forward to hear the Buddha's sermon. Mañjuśrī is depicted the same way, on his respective *vāhana*, the lion, and the processions always face the niche, where the Buddha sits. Nearly all murals and silk paintings from Dunhuang show the bodhisattva with the *vitarka* and *varada mudrās* with his hands, except for one of the earliest depiction in Cave 148, where the bodhisattva is holding a long lotus blossom (Fig. 51). In Cave 196, dated to the late 9<sup>th</sup> century, or Late Tang period, the whole procession is floating on a cloud towards the buddha-niche (Fig. 54).



Figure 53. Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, Cave 172, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, 8<sup>th</sup> century  
Figure 54. Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, Cave 196, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, late 9<sup>th</sup> century

The six tusks of the elephant are almost always indicated on the paintings, no matter how awkwardly they may be drawn. The harnesses and garments of the animal is more and more decorated, as it should fit a king of elephants. A striking advancement is made from the early 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century images of either the bodhisattva or the riders on an elephant images, namely the appearance of the lotus throne, which would also become a common characteristic of the Samantabhadra depictions in China, and also in Japan. Sometimes it is substituted with a platform-like structure – as it is seen on the mural in Cave 159 of the Middle Tang period (Fig. 52).



**Figure 55. Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, silk painting from the Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang  
BM (Acq. no.: 1919,0101,0.131), 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries**

**Figure 56. Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, silk painting from the Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang  
BM (Acq. no.: 1919,0101,0.5), 864**

Cave	Excavation Date	Image Date	Room	Place	Medium
14	Late Tang	Late Tang	Main Hall	South to the entrance	Mural
31	High Tang	High Tang	Main Hall	South slope of ceiling	Mural
36	Five Dynasties	Five Dynasties	Main Hall	Fragments on the north wall	Mural
39	High Tang	Five Dynasties	Main Hall	North to the entrance	Mural
85	Late Tang	Yuan	Ante-room	North to the entrance	Mural
99	Five Dynasties	Five Dynasties	-	South to the niche	Mural
100	Five Dynasties	Five Dynasties	Main Hall	Outside the altar niche	Statue
120	High Tang	Five Dynasties	Ante-room	North wall	Mural

<b>147</b>	Late Tang	Late Tang	Main Hall	South to the niche	Mural
<b>148</b>	High Tang	High Tang	Main Hall	East to the niche	Mural
<b>152</b>	Song	Song	Main Hall	Central altar	Statue
<b>153</b>	Middle Tang	Western Xia	Main Hall	South wall	Mural
<b>156</b>	Late Tang	Late Tang	Main Hall	South to the niche	Mural
<b>159</b>	Middle Tang	Middle Tang	Main Hall	South to the niche	Mural
<b>164</b>	High Tang	Qing	Main Hall	Niche on west wall	Statue
<b>165</b>	High Tang	Western Xia	Main Hall	South to the entrance	Mural
<b>167</b>	Late Tang	Late Tang	-	South to the niche	Mural
<b>172</b>	High Tang	Late Tang	Main Hall	South to the entrance	Mural
<b>177</b>	Late Tang	Late Tang	Main Hall	East to the niche	Mural
<b>180</b>	High Tang	High Tang	Main Hall	South to the niche	Mural
<b>196</b>	Late Tang	Late Tang	Main Hall	North to the entrance	Mural
<b>202</b>	Early/High Tang	Middle Tang	Main Hall	North to the niche	Mural
<b>205</b>	Early/High Tang	Middle Tang	Main Hall	North to the niche	Mural
<b>227</b>	Late Tang	Late Tang	-	South to the niche	Mural
<b>230</b>	Song	Song	-	South to the niche	Mural
<b>232</b>	Late Tang	Late Tang	-	South to the niche	Mural
<b>233</b>	Song	Song	Main Hall	Central altar	Statue
<b>245</b>	Western Xia	Western Xia	Main Hall	North to the entrance	Mural
<b>258</b>	Middle Tang	Five Dynasties	Ante-room	North wall	Mural
<b>291</b>	Northern Zhou	Northern Zhou	Main Hall	North to the entrance	Mural
<b>294</b>	Northern Zhou	Five Dynasties	Corridor	South wall	Mural
<b>296</b>	Northern Zhou	Five Dynasties	Ante-room	South wall	Mural

332	Early Tang	Five Dynasties	Corridor	East side of the central column	Mural
339	Early Tang	Western Xia	Main Hall	North wall	Mural
351	Five Dynasties	Five Dynasties	Ante-room	North to the entrance	Mural
361	Middle Tang	Middle Tang	Main Hall	South to the niche	Mural
369	Middle Tang	Five Dynasties	Main Hall	South to the niche	Mural
370	Middle Tang	Five Dynasties	Main Hall	South to the niche	Mural
401	Sui	Five Dynasties?	Main Hall	Niche on north wall	Statue
418	Sui	Western Xia	Ante-room	South to the entrance	Mural
454	Song	Song	Ante-room	Above entrance	Mural
460	High Tang	Western Xia	Ante-room	North of the entrance	Mural
463	Yuan	Yuan		North wall	Mural

**Table 2. Samantabhadra Images in the Mogao Grottoes**

(With the help of *Dunhuang Art: Through the Eyes of Duan Wenjie*, 1994.)

#### IV.1.3. The Fugen Enmei Image in China

According to the esoteric tradition, the sūtra, which is the basis for the canonical mage, was translated by Amoghavajra, the most renowned of all the esoteric masters of Tang China. It is without saying that, in his case, as it is in so many other famous Buddhist priests, fame was accompanied by legendary acts which gives way to doubt. Almost 1300 years passed since Amoghavajra died in 774 in Chang'an, and the biographies of the following centuries did embellish the master's translating and ritual performing deeds, creating sceneries in which a legendary person is created. Most researchers of Amoghavajra and his translations, or biographies, agree that one part of his alleged oeuvre could have been the work of his disciples, or other Buddhists priests, who wished their translations to matter, by attributing

it to the paramount Buddhist master of that time.<sup>404</sup> Proving that would involve the linguistic analysis of most of his works, which is not my place to do, however, it is evident that from the brief examination I did with the scriptures related to the notion of the *adamantine life-span* (Jp. *kongō jumyō*, Sk. *vajrāyus*), the Fugen Enmei sūtra is decidedly dissimilar to the other texts. Not just the fact that the description of the bodhisattva can only be found in the latter, but that instead of Kongō jumyō bosatsu, the esoteric version of Samantabhadra (Sk. Samantabhadra) enters the stage.

If this scripture is the translation of such a praised master, how is it that there are no extant Fugen Enmei images in China? I cannot talk about the Chinese sources of temples, for I have not seen them, but apart from the brief description of Ennin's encounter in 840 with the sculpture on Mt. Wutai, there is no mention of such an iconography. Experts of Chinese Buddhist art do not know about these images, and although the *dhāraṇī* of the adamant life-span, which happens to be the mantra of Fugen Enmei, appears in some texts or talismans from the Dunhuang findings, the image of this specific bodhisattva is nowhere to be found outside of Japan in the ancient and medieval times.

The aforementioned encounter of the great Tendai master, Ennin, is described in his travel journal which tells his adventurous 8 years in Tang China, from 840 to 848. The journal is included in the compiled writings of Ennin, and we are lucky to have an English translation of Edwin O. Reischauer from 1955,<sup>405</sup> who also wrote an accompanying volume about Ennin and his journey to China.<sup>406</sup> Ennin writes that:

開成五年七月二日<sup>407</sup> (...) 開普賢堂。礼普賢菩薩像。三象並立。背上安置一菩薩。堂内外莊嚴、綵畫鏤刻、不可具言。<sup>408</sup>

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Kaicheng [840] (...) we opened the Fugen Hall and worshipped the image of the Bodhisattva Fugen. Three elephants<sup>409</sup> stand side by side, and on their backs is placed a single

---

<sup>404</sup> For further reading see Iyanaga 1985, Osabe 1990.

<sup>405</sup> Reischauer 1955a

<sup>406</sup> Reischauer 1955b

<sup>407</sup> Reischauer gives the Gregorian calendar date as August 3, 840. (Reischauer 1955a: 254.)

<sup>408</sup> Ono vol. 3, 1967: 95.

<sup>409</sup> Reischauer remarks that the character is rendered 尊 as „deities” in the ZZGR text, but in the Tōji and the DNBZ versions we find a character which appears to be a variant for 象 or „elephant.” (Reischauer 1955a: 255.)



image of the Bodhisattva. The hall both inside and outside is very impressive, and its coloured paintings and carvings cannot be described in detail.<sup>410</sup>

Unfortunately, since there is no image to compare this description to, but from the language of Ennin it becomes evident that he saw a statue with three elephants standing side-by-side (三象並立), and not a three-headed elephant.

## IV.2. Fugen Enmei in Japan

The bodhisattva arrived to Japan in two ways: one was the Fugen Enmei scripture, imported by Eun in 847, and the other is the oral transmission (Jp. *kuden* 口伝 or *kuketsu* 口決) that is supposedly originates with the master Vajrabodhi (usually referred to as 金剛智口決 or 金智口決), and was imported and handed down by Kūkai. The line of the tradition is:

Huiguo 惠果

→ Kūkai 空海 (as the Great Master 大師)

→ Shinga 真雅 (801-879)

→ Gennin 源仁 (818-887)

→ Yakushin 益信 (827-906)

→ Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (867-931; as Teijiin no mikado 亭子院法帝)

→ Kangū 寛空 (884-972)

→ Kanchō 寛朝 (916-998)

→ Saishin 済信 (954-1030).<sup>411</sup>

Three commentaries of Shingon monks present the exact same lineage:

---

<sup>410</sup> Translation from Reischauer *ibid.*

<sup>411</sup> They were all masters and disciples. See Chart I for the Shingon lineages of these monks.

- 1) *Essential Annotations of the Various Divinities* (Jp. *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄) of Jitsuun 実運 (1105-1160);<sup>412</sup>
- 2) *Secret Annotations* (Jp. *Hishō* 秘鈔) of Shōken's 勝賢 (1138-196) oral transmissions, written down by Shukaku hosshinnō 守覚法親王 (1150-1202), his disciple;<sup>413</sup>
- 3) *Questions and Answers of the Secret Annotations* (Jp. *Hishō mondō* 秘鈔問答) of Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226-1304).<sup>414</sup>

More iconography manuals – of both Tōmitsu and Taimitsu traditions – also present the lineage:

- 1) *Shosetsu fudōki* 諸説不同記;
- 2) *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記;
- 3) *Kakuzenshō* 覚禅鈔;
- 4) *Asabashō* 阿婆縛抄.

According to the Japanese sources the images were brought to Japan in three forms: the canonical image by Ennin and Enchin, and the image with the twenty-armed deity by Kūkai. It does not seem like a coincidence now that the oral tradition and the image, which is based on it, are both attributed to the Shingon master. But the main evidence to show the involvement of Kūkai in the story of the Fugen Enmei image comes from his own writing, the *Shinjitsukyō monku* 真実經文句,<sup>415</sup> a commentary to one of the fundamental esoteric scripture (see the examination below, pp.158-159). The pictorial evidence is given in the *Figures of Main Deities and Attendants in the Four Kinds of Homa* (Jp. *Shishu goma honzon oyobi kenzoku zuzō* 四種護摩本尊及眷属図像, cited hereafter as *Shishu goma zuzō*) of the Daigoji temple in Kyoto (Fig. 98). The Fugen Enmei drawing shows a twenty-armed deity mounted on three elephants with single-pronged *vajras* in their trunks. It only survives in a copy made by Shūjitsu 宗実 (d.u.) in 1213. The end note (*okugaki*) says that,

惣廿七帳 就中二張半 (虫損)  
弘仁十二年四月十六日記 僧□  
写本云 (虫損)  
天養二年初秋六月以恵什闍梨□  
書於禅林寺經藏 {云／々} 以 (本力) (写力)  
建曆三年五月十七日少輔法眼□□□ 宗実<sup>416</sup>

<sup>412</sup> T 2484, vol. 78: 291a15 – 17.

<sup>413</sup> T 2489, vol. 78: 530c10 – 11.

<sup>414</sup> T 2536, vol. 79: 434b06 – 07.

<sup>415</sup> T 2237, vol. 61: 612-615.

<sup>416</sup> <http://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/nenki/13140.html>

27 books in all, two and a half stretch in the middle (insect damage)  
Written on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the 4<sup>th</sup> month in the 12<sup>th</sup> year of Kōnin by the  
priest ( )  
Copied book (insect damage)  
Started in the fall, 6<sup>th</sup> month in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Ten'yō, Ejū ācār(ya)  
Housed at the scripture treasury of the Zenrinji temple (original? Or  
copy?)  
On the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Kenryaku, with small  
help from the *hōgan* ( ) by Shūjitsu

According to this, the original version was written in 821 was copied in 1145, then again in 1213. If we accept this note with all the dates in it, it was actually written down during Kūkai's lifetime. Although the name of the original writer is not decipherable in this inscription, in another copy it is given as Chisen 智泉 (789-825), one of the prominent disciples of Kūkai. The most important detail that we gain from this *okugaki* is that it attests to the fact that the twenty-armed image was introduced to Japan in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century by the founder of the Japanese Shingon school.

Another significant element in Kūkai's artistic sentiment is the iconographical program of the Kongōbuji temple 金剛峰寺 on Mt. Kōya. There are plenty articles, studies and books, which mention that tragic night of December 25, 1926, when in the wake of the recently departed Emperor Taishō 大正天皇 (1879 – 1962, r. 1912 – 1926) the main hall of the Kongōbuji temple with all its treasure was destroyed by fire. We are fortunate that the lost icons were designated National Treasures in 1921, therefore their photos survive (Plate).<sup>417</sup> We cannot be certain whether the Fugen Enmei statue was included in the original set of the four bodhisattvas which are also mentioned in the Kongōbuji *engi*, but not by name. Scholars could not identify the idea behind the program of the sculptures (see the further examination below). Consequently, believing the sources, and also in the light of the Fugen Enmei drawing in the *Shishu goma zuzō*, and adding the Kongōbuji temple images, it can be safely asserted that the twenty-armed image was the import of Kūkai.

Unfortunately, we cannot be so sure about the canonical image. Later sources differentiate between two main types of the two-armed image: one with a three headed elephant, and another one with three elephants standing side by side. The ink drawings and paintings support the Ennin-Enchin import theory, however, the question of which monk

---

<sup>417</sup> I use the photos included in the separate volume of the KDZ.

brought which version have causes another controversy. Yōgon 永嚴 (1075-1151), a Ninnaji 仁和寺 affiliated shingon monk divided the types in his treatise, the *Rituals of the Major Divinities* (Jp. *Yōsonbō* 要尊法, completed before 1151)<sup>418</sup> as,

菩薩像如常 一象三頭。慈覺傳  
菩薩像如常 三象三頭。智證傳<sup>419</sup>

The three headed elephant version was brought by Ennin;  
the three elephants version is the import of Enchin.

This is further attested by the *Sōjishō* 総持抄, written by the Tendai monk, Chōgō 澄豪 (1049-1133):

前唐院御本。一身三頭象爲シ。後唐院御經藏。三象身ヲ指合。<sup>420</sup>  
The former Tōin image is (with) a three-headed elephant. The later Tōin scripture treasury (image is with) three elephants are joined together.

The fact that they knew about the bodhisattva becomes indisputable from their writings. In Ennin's case, as we have seen, the description of the Fugen bodhisattva image at Mt. Wutai refutes the above stated notion. Furthermore, the majority of the *honzon* image descriptions in the various *Fugen Enmeihō ritual accounts* (Jp. *Fugen Enmeihō nikki* 普賢延命法日記), either in the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄<sup>421</sup> or the *Monyōki* 門葉記<sup>422</sup> (both works of Tendai monks), distinguish between the Zentōin 前唐院 and the Tōin 唐院 types of (Fugen) Enmei mandalas. The previous was the treasure-house of Ennin, so it indicates the image imported by him; while the latter points to Enchin's image, as the Tōin was used at his temple, Miidera 三井寺 (Onjōji 園城寺). However, the records and image descriptions leaves us no doubt that the Zentōin type mandala has three elephants, and the other has the three-headed elephant. The last pieces of evidence are the two extant ink drawings from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. One is in the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記<sup>423</sup> of Shingaku 心覺 (1117-1180), and

---

<sup>418</sup> T 2478, vol. 78: 192-209.

<sup>419</sup> T 2478, vol. 78: 199c02 – 03.

<sup>420</sup> T 2412, vol. 77: 53c28 – 29.

<sup>421</sup> TZ vol. 9: 864-872.

<sup>422</sup> TZ vol. 11: 631-689.

<sup>423</sup> TZ vol. 3: 330.

the other one is in the *Shoson zuzō* 諸尊図像<sup>424</sup> (editor unknown).<sup>425</sup> Both show the same iconography, one could probably be the copy of the other: the bodhisattva is sitting in the centre, his two hands show a mudra, and under the lotus throne three elephants stand close to one another, treading on small lotus flowers. The principal image of the bodhisattva and the elephants is surrounded by eleven deities, including buddhas, bodhisattvas and *myōōs*. This image could be the heritage of Enchin, since Shingaku first studied Tendai esotericism at the Miidera temple, however, the inscription next to the *Shoson zuzō* drawing makes it irrefutable that it is Ennin's version:

普賢延命 山 前唐院本<sup>426</sup>  
Fugen Enmei – Enryakuji – Zentōin image

One of the entries in the *Monyōki* also points out that the mandala with the three-headed elephant must be the Tōin type:

唐院本歟。(…) 非世流布之一身三頭象也。<sup>427</sup>  
Is it a Tōin version? (...) It is a one-bodied, three-headed elephant, which is unconventional.

Yet again, the last ritual account of 1393, in which the honzon is called Fugen Enmei mandala of the Zentōin type is described with the three-headed elephant:

普賢延命曼荼羅一鋪 前唐院本。一身三頭象如例 三幅也。<sup>428</sup>  
Fugen Enmei maṇḍala one painting – Zentōin version; just like the example, the elephant has one body and three heads – three stripes of cloth

Detailed records about the images are scarce to come by. Only a handful of ritual accounts disclose the description of the *honrons*. Apart from the actual ritual accounts, we also have many consecration records, mostly reported by the officials, the images were ordered by or made for. Temple archives also contain monks' writings about one or two *honrons*, but these are usually hard to get into, although due to the digitalization wave in

---

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.* 699.

<sup>425</sup> Today it is accepted that the author cannot be identified with full confidence, but it has been attributed to Shingaku before, because many Tendai esoteric connections can be pointed out. For more about this see the subchapter of the Fugen Enmei mandala below.

<sup>426</sup> *Zuzō shūsei* Vol.9: 13, 43.

<sup>427</sup> TZ Vol.11: 651.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.* 688.

Japan, some have already either published or digitalized their archive documents.<sup>429</sup> The average record usually state the amount of images, since in the case of consecrations they were multiple in number, and sometimes even their size. In case we are truly lucky we also get the number of hands, which is crucial in the light of the iconographic delineation, for it is the main distinctive character. Accounts whit the number of arms show that actually all records can be erroneous, or faultily copied. Twelve arms can be the result of switching up the Chinese characters of the two and ten, but four arms (四臂) must be a misspelling – maybe a misreading of the character for twenty (廿) – which also indicates that the copier did not know the iconography of Fugen Enmei bosatsu.

The somewhat unreliable *engi* literature is where we turn to for information about the first Fugen Enmei images. These origin chronicles sometimes are extended with lists of temple assets. This is the case with the Kanshinji 観心寺 and Anjōji 安祥寺 temples, both founded in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

The Kanshinji was built by Jichie 実恵 (786-847) with Shinjō 真紹 (797-873), two of Kūkai's main disciples. Jichie's knowledge of Fugen Enmei bosatsu becomes evident from his major work, the *Hino'o Oral Transmissions* (Jp. *Hino'o kuketsu* 檜尾口訣).<sup>430</sup> The name refers to Mt. Hino'o, where he built the Kanshinji temple. Jichie records the teachings he was initiated into by Kūkai. In this text there is an adamantine life-span ritual written, which is identical to the ritual written in the adamantine life-span texts. (The rituals will be examined in the next chapter.) What is interesting here that Enmei bosatsu is said to be the transformation of 'Fugen Kongōsatta' (延命菩薩亦是普賢金剛薩埵之變),<sup>431</sup> so that indicates a two-armed bodhisattva, as either Samantabhadra or Vajrasattva is always depicted. The *Kanshinji engi* (Jp. *Kanshinji engi shizaichō* 観心寺縁起資財帳) unfortunately does not have any details about the Fugen Enmei painting<sup>432</sup> that is listed

---

<sup>429</sup> The materials of the Daigoji temple were published as part of the series of the old documents (Jp. *komonjo* 古文書) of Japan. Then it was digitalized by the Historiographical Institute of Tokyo University (*Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Henshūjo* 東京大学史料編集所, cited hereafter as TDSH), and made available for search online. (URL: <http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller>)

<sup>430</sup> T 2465, vol. 78: 24-31.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.* 25a11 – 12.

<sup>432</sup> 普賢延命像一鋪三副

among the treasures of the Nyohōdō 如法堂, a building of three *ken*<sup>433</sup> with cypress bark thatched roof.<sup>434</sup>

The Anjōji temple, built by the Shingon monk Eun, also lists an Enmei image among its icons in the *Assets of the Anjōji Temple* (Jp. *Anjōji shizaichō* 安祥寺資財帳).<sup>435</sup> One Enmei sculpture is listed among the images that were offered by the founder master who transmitted the secret teachings (秘密教伝法祖師), by which the author, Eun, possibly refers to Kūkai. Most of the *engis* are written down centuries after the actual building of the temples, in the case of the previously mentioned writings, the original 9<sup>th</sup> century document of the Kanshinji and a 14<sup>th</sup> century copy of a 12<sup>th</sup> century copy of the Anjōji *engi* survive, so they may be more trustworthy than others of their kind.<sup>436</sup>

The Kanshinji and Anjōji temples both represent the Shingon school, but let us now see what we can learn from the Tendai *engis* of the Enryakuji temple, as the most important Tendai temple regarding the Fugen Enmei images. There are four such writings extant, all describing the numerous temple halls and their treasures once built on Mt. Hiei. The four are:

- 1) *Short History of the Various Temples* (Jp. *Shoji ryakki* 諸寺略記), preserved in the *Asabashō* ritual manual (Fascicle 200 and 201);<sup>437</sup>
- 2) *The Origins of the Various Temples of the Three Pagodas* (Jp. *Santō shoji engi* 三塔諸寺縁起);<sup>438</sup>
- 3) *Important Records of Mt. Hiei* (Jp. *Eigaku yōki* 叡岳要記);<sup>439</sup>
- 4) *Records of the Halls and Houses of the Mountain School of Tendai* (Jp. *Sanmon dōsha ki* 山門堂舎記).<sup>440</sup>

The sources tell us that the (Fugen) Enmei ritual became more and more popular among the aristocrats during the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are plenty of records in the diaries of high class officials of the ritual being performed repeatedly. The first entry of a

---

<sup>433</sup> 'Interval.' The counter used for the gaps between pillars in Japanese buildings. One *ken* is about 1.8 m wide (about six *shakus*).

<sup>434</sup> DNBZ vol. 86: 282.

<sup>435</sup> DNBZ vol. 86: 302.

<sup>436</sup> The *Kanshinji engi shizaichō* was written in 883, which document is still in the possession of the temple and is designated as a NT. The *Anjōji shizaichō* was written by Eun himself in 867. It survives in a 1385 copy of an 1136 copy in the Tōji Kanchiin temple, and is designated as an ICP.

<sup>437</sup> TZ vol. 9: 752-772.

<sup>438</sup> DNBZ vol. 86: 27-36.

<sup>439</sup> GR vol. 24: 504-562.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.* 468-503.

(Fugen) Enmei bosatsu image being made is from 925, it is in the *Teishinkōki* 貞信公記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880-949), a successful politician who later in his life was appointed regent (Jp. *sesshō* 摂政) under Emperor Suzaku 朱雀天皇, and assumed the role of chief minister (Jp. *daijō daijin* 太政大臣, 936), the highest rank in the state council. In his diary the following can be read:

(延長三年三月)五日、丁酉、於尊意私堂、修善始行、爲攘天變也、一万延命<sup>441</sup>像始畫、法性寺讀經始行、仁王也<sup>441</sup>

On the fifth day (of the third month of the third year of Enchō), in the private chambers of Son'i, the praying for good deeds has started: for the removal of calamities the drawing of ten thousand images of Enmei bosatsu has begun, and the reading of the scripture of the Benevolent king at the Hosshōji temple has begun

One hundred of the Enmei images were consecrated twelve days later.<sup>442</sup> Mitsuhashi Tadashi 三橋正 points out in his examination of the religious practices of the Heian aristocratic class, how interesting it is that a monk's chamber at Enryakuji temple was used for a politician's private prayers.<sup>443</sup>

#### IV.2.1. The Canonical Iconography of Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva

The image with the two-armed deity, which is described in detail in the scripture, is what we can call the canonical image. The text says,

我此延命法先須彩書普賢菩薩。如滿月童子形。五佛頭冠。右手持金剛杵。左手持召集金剛鈴。契鬘縱緩帶坐千葉寶華。下有白象王象有三頭。鼻卷獨股杵。各具六牙。其象四足踏一大金剛輪。輪下有五千群象。各負其輪。於菩薩身放百寶光。光外盡白月輪衆 彩莊嚴盡得<sup>444</sup>

I, in the ritual of long life, first should draw a colourful image of Samantabhadra. His form is like a prince in the full moon, with a Five-Buddha crown on his head. In his right hand, he holds a vajra, and in his left an all-summoning vajra-bell. His hair is tied up and he wears a robe loosely, and sits

---

<sup>441</sup> DNK vol. 2: 97.

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid.* 98. The short period of time, and the fact that the extant Enmei images are scarce, it may be assessed that these images were ink drawings which could have been made in a short period of time.

<sup>443</sup> Mitsuhashi 2000: 357, 414: 79.

<sup>444</sup> T 1136, vol. 20: 579b15 – 21.



on a thousand petal jewel lotus flower. Under [this flower] there is a white elephant king, which has three heads. A single-prong vajra is folded in each of its trunks, and each head has six tusks. This elephant stands on a great vajra-wheel with four legs, and under the wheel there are 5000 elephants, each carrying the wheel on their backs. The body of the bodhisattva gives off hundred rays of precious light, outside the light a white moon-ring is formed, and this image is covered with colourful adornments

This is the most consistent type of all images, the details of the depiction in the scripture does not change considerably, as in the case of the twenty-armed image, which is not originated in any Buddhist *sūtra*. All the two-armed images – except for two standing Enmei images in the Daigoji temple – are shown sitting on a colourful lotus throne, either in full (Jp. *kekkaфуza* 結跏趺坐) or half lotus position (Jp. *hankafuza* 半跏趺坐).



Figure 57. Five pronged vajra and vajra bell

The five Buddha crown, representing the five Wisdom (*Dhyāni*) Buddhas,<sup>445</sup> is an unvarying feature of all Fugen Enmei and Enmei images, just as the two attributes, the *vajra* in the right hand and the *vajra* bell in the left. The usually five-pronged *vajra*, a common symbol in esoteric and tantric Buddhism, it is also the *samaya* form of Vajrasattva, and symbolizes the Five Knowledges possessed by the Five Wisdom Buddha.<sup>446</sup> The *vajra* is employed as the wisdom and the power over illusion and evil spirits.<sup>447</sup> The bell is for attracting the attention of the objects of worship, and for stimulating all who hear it.<sup>448</sup> These are typically depicted with five prongs which can symbolize the five elements or, again, the

<sup>445</sup> The Five Buddhas are Vairocana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. (DCBT 1934: 120.)

<sup>446</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 265.

<sup>447</sup> DCBT 1934: 280.

<sup>448</sup> *Ibid.* 283.

five wisdom powers of the *vajradhātu* which destroy the five poisons obscuring the mind from enlightenment.<sup>449</sup>

The garments and jewels show the standard bodhisattva attire. On his upper body there is a drapery hanging across the chest from the left shoulder (Jp. *jōhaku* 条帛), and the *mo* or *kun* is covering the folded legs. Fugen Enmei also wears chest jewellery (Jp. *munakazari* 胸飾), metal (golden) arm bands on his wrists (Jp. *wansen* 腕釧) and upper arms (Jp. *hisen* 臂釧). The clothes are beautifully decorated mostly with colours, patterns and *kirikane* 截金 (decorative patterns applied with gold leaf) in the case of paintings.

The lotus throne is supported by a great white elephant with three heads and six tusks on each head, with the trunks holding a single-prong vajra each. Adrian Snodgrass gives a very detailed and explanatory description of the elephants' forms and what they symbolize. This single-pronged *vajra* sceptre, he says, is the symbol (*samaya* form) of the single Dharma Body that abides eternally in the three worlds, and by grasping them with the trunks, the channels of breath of life, it symbolizes the attainment of the longevity.<sup>450</sup> The elephant stands on a great dharma wheel, which is in turn supported by five thousand small elephants. Snodgrass carries on saying that these elephants represent the countless manifestations of the five fundamental passions (Sk. *pancha kleśa*, Jp. *go konpon bonnō* 五根本煩惱),<sup>451</sup> which causes us to stay in the cycle of birth and death (Sk. *saṃsāra*, Jp. *rinne* 輪廻 or *tenshō* 転生). The wheel crushes the passions, which result in the four sufferings, therefore it also represents the attainment of adamant longevity.<sup>452</sup>

The question of the number or the heads of elephants seems to be up for interpretation. As early as the Heian period the Buddhist monks tried to explain the meaning of the number of heads or elephants in the different pictures. It seems it has been generally accepted that the twenty-armed images the four elephants symbolize the four sufferings, e.g. life, sickness,

---

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.* 121.

<sup>450</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 265.

<sup>451</sup> The five are: attachment (Sk. *raga*, Jp. *tan* 貪), anger (Sk. *pratigha*, Jp. *shin* 瞋), ignorance (Sk. *avidya*, Jp. *chi* 痴), pride (Sk. *māna*, Jp. *man* 慢), doubt (Sk. *vicikitsa*, Jp. *gi* 疑). They are also called the five serious hindrances. In the Abhidharma-kośa there is a sixth one, the wrong view (Sk. *dṛṣṭi*, Jp. *jaken* 邪見).

<sup>452</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 265.

old age and death, as it is suggested by the *Betsugyō* 別行,<sup>453</sup> the *Atsuzōshi* 厚造紙,<sup>454</sup> or the *Hishō* 秘鈔<sup>455</sup> in the Shingon, and the *Yonjū chōketsu* 四十帖決<sup>456</sup> in the Tendai tradition. (The figure of the elephants is further analysed below.)

#### IV.2.2. Problems with the Iconography: The Number of Arms and Elephants

Among the numerous unresolved images of the esoteric pantheon, there are two seemingly separate iconographies of Fugen Enmei bodhisattva, and their ambiguous origins. The two kinds of images may be confusing at first, especially in the light of the canonical source, the *Fugen Enmei sūtra*, which provides the exact description of the bodhisattva. Yet, the eighty or so remaining images of Fugen Enmei (or Enmei) bodhisattva demonstrate an excessive variety of portrayals.

There are two main types to depict Fugen Enmei: one where the bosatsu has two arms and one where he has twenty arms. While the images of the previous group seem consistent in their portrayals, the latter proves to be more complicated, with many small alterations. However, after their thorough examination, we can set apart various lineages with their oldest extant prototypes.

Since there are two esoteric schools in Japan, it would be rather convenient to divide the iconographies between the Shingon and Tendai tradition, as do so many exhibition catalogue entries, but, as I found out in a quite early stage of my research, it is not that simple. Although the esoteric Buddhist priests themselves tried to give a clear distinction for the two versions, they ended up even more entangled in the web of doctrines and oral traditions. Some encyclopaedias, such as the MJ, also try to divide the paintings according to the two versions of rituals, namely the Enmei hō and Fugen Enmei hō ones. This separation, however, also does not stand when we take a look at the surviving sources.

---

<sup>453</sup> 四象表生老病死四苦 (T 2476, vol. 78: 152a05.)

<sup>454</sup> 乘四象表對治生老病死四苦 (T 2483, vol. 78: 262b03 – 04.)

<sup>455</sup> 乘四象表對治生老病死之四苦也 (T 2489, vol. 78: 530c14 – 15.)

<sup>456</sup> 可有四頭也。即表ス生老病死ノ苦ヲ也 (T 2408, vol. 78, 0894c05 – 06.)

The confusion of images can derive from the multifarious branches the two main schools. The Tōmitsu and Taimitsu traditions still have a lot of smaller divisions today. This confusion can be solved by looking at the educational background of the monks who provided essential writings about this bodhisattva and his image. It only complicates matters more that the different types were introduced to Japan by different monks of different schools and that it is nowhere to be found in other previously or still lively esoteric centres of Asia.<sup>457</sup>

Although the canonical image description is clear about the two arms and their attributes, the bodhisattva with twenty arms becomes more common in Japanese Buddhist art. In the beginning, during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the name of the bodhisattva is noticeably undecided. In the aforementioned *Shishu goma zuzō* the twenty-armed drawing is called Fugen Enmei bosatsu, and only a century later, a twenty-armed Enmei sculpture (延命像一軀 居高三尺 二十臂) is placed in 938 in the Enmeiin hall 延命院 of the Enryakuji temple.<sup>458</sup> Therefore we cannot from the early sources of these centuries – especially the many records about the consecrations of Enmei images of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries – whether they are about an Enmei or Fugen Enmei image.

If we consider the common lineage and transformation of Fugen into Fugen Enmei, because of the association with Vajrasattva (Kongōsatta) and Mahāvairocana (Dainichi), it would be easy to say that the image should be always depicted with two arms, with the attributes of Vajrasattva. Probably this line of thought inspired Alice Getty to write that the ‘mild’ form (not wrathful) of the Japanese representation of Vajrasattva is seated on a lotus throne, often supported by a (white) elephant.<sup>459</sup> According to Getty’s explanation, the elephant is the mount of the spiritual father of Vajrasattva, the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya (Jp. Ashuku nyorai 阿闍如来), hence he can be appearing on top of a white elephant, and the two-armed Fugen Enmei iconography with Vajrasattva’s symbols must be a Japanese mistake. He also writes in the explanation of Samantabhadra that when he is represented as Vajrasattva, he is sometimes represented on an elephant with three heads, and often confused with Samantabhadra.<sup>460</sup> Nevertheless, we know from the Fugen Enmei sūtra that this

---

<sup>457</sup> This needs further investigation, but experts of Buddhist art of other Asian countries usually never even heard of this bodhisattva, let alone his images.

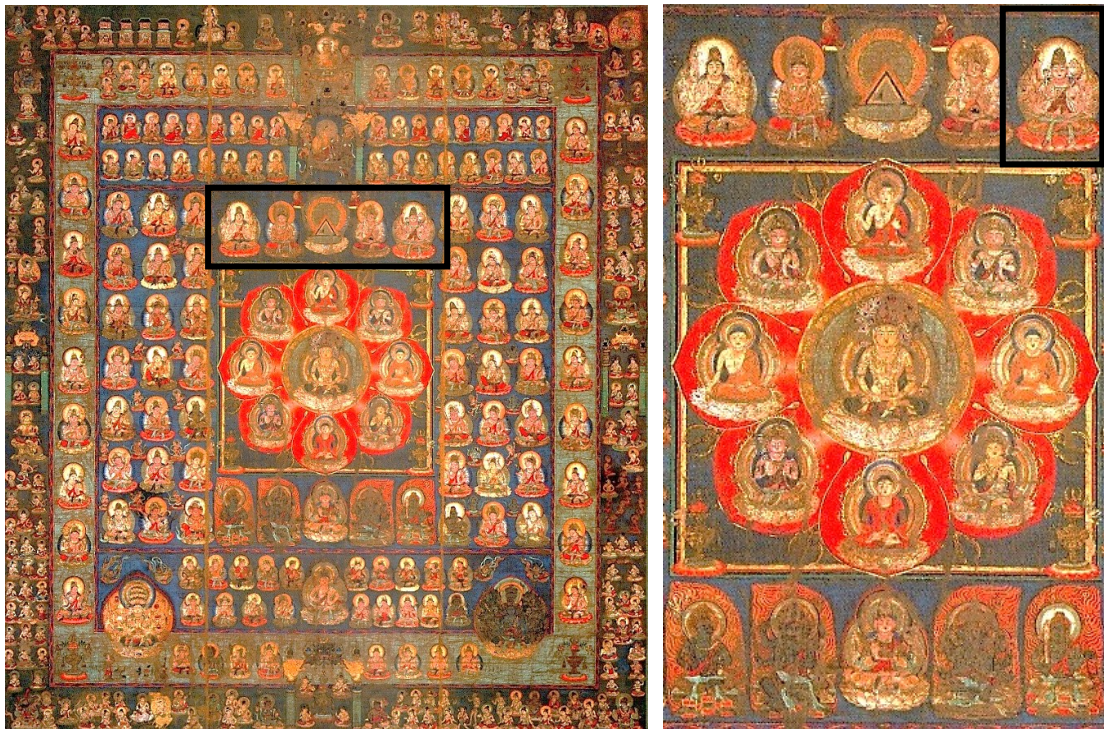
<sup>458</sup> TZ vol. 9: 767; DNBZ vol. 86: 31.

<sup>459</sup> Getty 1914: 6.

<sup>460</sup> *Ibid.* 46.

bodhisattva is an esoteric manifestation of Samantabhadra, not Vajrasattva, and their corresponding symbols can be explained by the *STTS*, where Samantabhadra and Vajrasattva comes forth from Mahāvairocana's chest and obtain the same symbols from the buddha.<sup>461</sup> Also, in Japan Vajrasattva is not depicted on an elephant, rather sitting on a simple throne, like in the case of the Daigoji temple image (Plate).

The twenty-armed image is another manifestation of Vajramoghasamayasattva (Jp. Daianraku fukū shinjitsu kongō samaya bosatsu 大安楽不空真実金剛三昧耶菩薩, Fig. 59), who resides in the Universal Knowledge Mansion (Jp. Henchiin 遍智院)<sup>462</sup> of the Womb world mandala (Fig. 58). This association is supposedly originated in an oral transmission, but it was first expressed by Kūkai, in the *Textual Explanation of the Truth Scripture* (Jp. *Shinjitsu kyō monku* 真実經文句).<sup>463</sup>



Figures 58. Womb world *maṇḍala*, Tōji temple, Kyoto, 9th century (The Henchiin section highlighted.)  
 Figures 59. Womb world *maṇḍala*, detail (Vajramoghasamayasattva highlighted.)

<sup>461</sup> Chandra – Snellgrove 1981: 17-18.

<sup>462</sup> The name refers to the 'Seal of Universal Knowledge' (Jp. henchiin 遍智印), a flaming triangle in the middle of this section of the mandala. There are altogether seven figures in this section, one of them is Daianraku bosatsu. (Snodgrass 1988: 251.)

<sup>463</sup> T 2237, vol. 61: 612-615. It is his commentary on the *Sūtra of the Principal of Wisdom* (Sk. *Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-naya-shatapanchashatikā*, Ch. *Bore boluomiduo liqu jing dale Bukong sanmei zhensi jingang saduo pusa deng yishi qi sheng damantuluo yishu*, Jp. *Hannya haramitsuta rishukyō Daianraku fukū sanmai shinjitsu kongō satta bosatsu tō jūsichi jō daimandara gijutsu* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大樂不空三昧真實金剛薩埵菩薩等一十七聖大曼荼羅義述, or shortly *Liqu jing*, *Rishukyō* 理趣經, T 1004, vol.19: 617-618.)

Kūkai writes about Vajrasattva's section, where he says that,

初句明大樂金剛普賢延命金剛薩埵菩薩位<sup>464</sup>

The first phrase clarifies the bodhisattva stage of the Great Bliss Adamantine Samantabhadra of Long life Vajrasattva.

Adrian Snodgrass points out that this bodhisattva has many names, one of them is Vajrāyus, which means 'Adamantine life-span' ('Kongō jumyō' or in other words 'Enmei' meaning 'long life'), another is Vajrāmoghasamayāsattva ('Adamantine Not Empty Samaya Being') which is also 'Great Bliss that is Not Empty' ('Daianraku fukū'), but her secret name is Adamantine of Truth ('Shinjitsu kongō').<sup>465</sup> He cites one of the major source for the Fugen Enmei ritual and image, the *Seven Collections of the Ishiyama Temple* (Jp. *Ishiyama shichijū* 石山七集), written by Junnyū 淳祐 (890-953), otherwise known as the Ishiyama naigu 石山内供, which was often cited by Kakuzen as well, as we will see below. (The problem with the arms is addressed by many Shingon and Tendai monks, when trying to distinguish between the Enmei and Fugen Enmei images, for further details see the subchapters after the list of the extant images, in which I am examining in detail the surviving materials related to the two-armed and twenty-armed iconography types.)

The question of the elephants is, not surprisingly, addressed by all commentaries explaining this bodhisattva. All monks generally quote the respective part of the Fugen Enmei scripture, where the bodhisattva's appearance with the elephant is described in detail, but still they also face the fact that there are so many images that are not in accordance with that canonical image. The explanation then turns to the previously examined oral transmission.

---

<sup>464</sup> T 2237, vol. 61: 613b06 – 07.

<sup>465</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 263.





Figure 60. Indra (Taishakuten) statue on elephant, Tōji, Kyoto, 9<sup>th</sup> century  
 Figure 61. Indra as one of the Twelve devas (Jūniten), Kyoto National Museum, 12<sup>th</sup> century

The basis for the three-headed elephant may be the rather similarly depicted three-headed elephant *vāhana* of the ancient Vedic god, Indra (Ch. Shidi huanyin 釋提桓因, Jp. Taishakuten 帝釋天). This originally Hindu god entered the Buddhist pantheon as a guardian deity. In Japanese Buddhist art, however, he is one of the group of twelve devas (Jp. Jūniten 十二天), commonly depicted as riding a one-headed elephant (Fig. 60). In Laos or Cambodia his elephant is called Airavata, in Thailand it is called Erawan, and sometimes has three heads, depicted the same way as Fugen Enmei's (Fig. 61), although sometimes his depictions show three elephants standing side by side (Fig. 62), like in Ennin's report.



Figure 62. Indra riding Airavata, Vat Phou, Laos, 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries  
 Figure 63. Indra riding Airavata, Banteay Srei, Cambodia, 10<sup>th</sup> century

We know that in the 11<sup>th</sup> century there were many images with three-headed elephants from the Tendai priest Jōnen 静然 (12<sup>th</sup> century), compiler of the immense 82 vols. of the *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄.<sup>466</sup>

世間流布本多一身三頭象也<sup>467</sup>

The conventional version in a lot of (cases) is with a one-bodied and three-headed elephant

The interpretations of the three-headed elephant or the three elephants, are even more obscure. The above mentioned *Yonjū chōketsu* 四十帖決 is the first to suggest that it also represents the four sufferings, however without death, because death cannot be depicted, hence the missing one head or elephant.<sup>468</sup> This is repeated in the *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄, whose writer was the disciple of Chōen 長宴 (1016-1081) author of the previous writing.<sup>469</sup> The previously cited 12<sup>th</sup> century Shingon source, the *Hishō* states that according to the Sanpōin tradition 三宝院伝 (Daigoji temple) the three-headed elephant appears on the Tendai images, and as for the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in the *Hishō mondō* 秘抄問答, the Shingon monk Raiyu 頼瑜 (1226–1304) supposes that the three heads represent the suffering of old age, sickness and death, and the body of the elephant is symbolizing the fourth suffering, birth.<sup>470</sup> Raiyu is an important link in the long line of the Shingon monks, who obtained their initiation into the esoteric *dharma* at the Daigoji temple, but he was also a revolutionist character, by establishing the headquarters of the New Shingon school (Jp. shingi shingon shū 新義真言宗) on Mt. Negoro in 1288.

The confusion of the three heads or three elephants could have evolved from the ambiguous phrase in the scripture: 下有白象王象有三頭.<sup>471</sup> This can be translated as 'the elephant which has three heads,' or that 'elephants, there are three.' The problem with the description in the text is that the counter kanji for large animals is the character of the head 頭. Thus the text can be read as three-headed elephant or three elephants. However, the

---

<sup>466</sup> T 2409, vol. 76: 1-502.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.* 147c01 – 02.

<sup>468</sup> 經ニ不説死頭ヲ也。謂死ハ可畫。形無カ故也。(T 2408, vol. 75: 894c06 – 07.)

<sup>469</sup> Chōen also quotes his master in his work, Kōgei 皇慶 (977–1049) founder of the Tani lineage (Jp. Tani ha 谷派) of the Taimitsu tradition. However, Kōgei was initiated into the Shingon doctrines too, in Kyūshū.

<sup>470</sup> 一身三頭。三頭表老病死三苦。一身表生歟。(T 2536, vol. 79: 434b12 – 13.)

<sup>471</sup> T 1136, vol. 20: 579b17 – 18.



repetition of the word elephant in this sentence would probably suggest the first interpretation with the three heads. This is further proven by the suggestion of four legs for the elephant, which is also brought up by Jōnen in his previously cited commentary, arguing that it cannot be three elephants with four legs, then it should be twelve legs on the *dharma* wheel.<sup>472</sup>

From a Shingon point of view, in his *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔, the monk Kakuzen sums up that the oral tradition is about the four elephants representing the four sufferings, life, old age, sickness and death, but he interprets the *Fugen Enmei scripture* elephant as a one bodied and three headed elephant, again, because of the four legs. He also cites his master, who said that the three elephants are found in Enchin's explanation. Kakuzen then quotes Genkaku's 賢覺 explanation that the three elephants represent the sufferings of old age, sickness and death. And to the question as why life is left out, he writes that although life is a suffering, it is ephemeral, therefore it can be left out.<sup>473</sup>

### IV.3. The Extant Images

There are many aspects which make our job to trace Fugen Enmei images much harder. First of all, during the many centuries lots of images were misplaced or lost in fires, which is particularly true for paintings and drawings. Also, we see that temples often changed their affiliation with Buddhist sects. This can serve as the reason why Fugen Enmei paintings can be found today at temples with no affiliation whatsoever to esoteric sects.<sup>474</sup> They were easy to transport, and held value which could mean the entrance for a “homeless” priest to any temples.

---

<sup>472</sup> 四足踏大輪者。三頭象各踏也。四足云只是云也。委云所謂三四十二足可云歟 持明説云云 (T 2409, vol. 76: 147c07 – 09.)

<sup>473</sup> 賢覺云。三象表老病死三苦除生。何除生苦。雖生苦也。刹那苦也。仍可除了 (TZ vol. 5: 107b13 – 14.)

<sup>474</sup> For example, the Jikōji temple, now belonging to the Pure land school, used to be affiliated with the Tendai school.

Then, there is the problem of the titles of the images, for various temples still do not use the Fugen Enmei designation, sometimes they just know the image as Samantabhadra looking at the white elephant on the image. Only in the last four decades or so did Fugen Enmei take the attention of art historians occasionally, until then he was not always distinguished from Fugen. Even today, scholars, who are not too familiar with esoteric teachings or images can mistake the two images.

Even with difficulties such as the ones listed above, all in all I managed to gather 56 paintings, 27 ink drawings, and 15 statues, out of which there are 50 paintings, 25 drawings, and 9 statues in Japan and the rest is scattered throughout the world.

The paintings are from the following temples or museums:

- Matsunoodera 松尾寺 and Jikōji 持光寺 temples – designated as national treasure;
- Daigoji 醍醐寺, Enryakuji 延暦寺, Chōtokuji 長徳寺, Ryūjōin 龍乗院, Shōchiin 正智院, Nara National Museum 奈良国立博物館 – all designated as important cultural property;
- Jinryūji 神竜寺, Keishōji 継松寺, Jissōin 実相院, Daijionji 大慈恩寺 – designated by the prefecture as important cultural property;
- Ninnaji 仁和寺 (3 paintings), Ryūgeji 龍華寺, Reijunji 霊雲寺, Tōji 東寺 (2 paintings), Kanchiin 観智院, Entsūji 円通寺, Jōdoji 浄土寺, Ishiyamadera 石山寺, Chōrakuji 長楽寺, Seihōji 西方寺, Hōfukuji 法福寺 temples, the Hosomi Art Foundation 細見美術財団, and the Tateyama Municipal Museum 館山市立博物館 also are in possession of Fugen Enmei paintings;
- there is another 4 paintings at the Enryakuji 延暦寺, 10 paintings at the Daigoji 醍醐寺, and 2 paintings are lost (one used to be in a private collection, and another in the Tōji Kanchiin temple);
- there is (was?) one painting in the Jōidō temple 静意堂;<sup>475</sup>
- I have also found three Edo period paintings at the annual Kogirekai Auction in Kyoto in 2015 and 2016.

Seven paintings can be found outside Japan:

- Neuss, Germany
- London, The British Museum (cited hereafter as BM)
- Paris, Musée National des arts asiatiques – Guimet (cited hereafter as Guimet)
- Philadelphia, Museum of Art (cited hereafter as MA)
- Boston, Museum of Fine Art (cited hereafter as MFA).

---

<sup>475</sup> I have found a very poor picture of this painting in the Yanagisawa study, however, I could not find out anything about this painting so far. (Yanagisawa 1969: 501.)

The drawings can be found most of the time in one of the surviving ritual manuals, and some on separate sheets of paper. The majority of these drawings are in Japan, I have found only two so far in museums abroad.

- Individual drawings: Tōji Kanchiin 東寺觀智院, Daigoji 醍醐寺, Boston (MFA), Mutō family, and the Minneapolis Institute of Art (formerly in the Burke Collection);
- Tōmitsu: *Zuzōshō* 図像抄, *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, *Shoson zuzō* 諸尊図像, *Shikashō zuzō* 四家鈔図像, *Sho monju zuzō* 諸文殊図像, *Kubarahon zuzō* 久原本図像, *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔;
- Taimitsu *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄.

And finally, the statues of which ten are in Japan:

- Taisanji 大山寺;
- Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺;
- Hōryūji 法隆寺;
- Fugenji 普賢寺;
- Ryūdenji 竜田寺;
- Jōkakuji 常覺寺;
- Chōgakuji 長岳寺;
- Takamadera Hashimotoin 高天寺橋本院;
- Kinshōji 金昌寺;
- Hōenji 法円(圓)寺.

Another six (three statues and three *zushi*) are abroad:

- London (BM);
- Paris (Guimet) – statue and *zushi*;
- Toulon (Le Musée des Arts Asiatiques à la Villa Jules Verne);
- Munich (Museum Fünf Kontinente);
- Budapest (Ferenc Hopp Museum for Eastern Asiatic Art).

## IV.4. The Two-Armed Iconography

The two-armed image has its description in the Fugen Enmei scripture, the scripture that was imported by Eun in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, as it is listed in his *mokurokus*. The mandala image also has two arms, the bodhisattva however does not hold attributes in his hands, but shows a *mudrā*, and while the individual image sits upon a three headed elephant, the mandala version has three elephants standing side-by-side. As pointed out above, this latter image was most probably imported by Ennin, since it is in his diary that we first here from the image of this bodhisattva in China, and he also lists a Fugen Enmei image (drawing most probably) in one of his *mokuroku*.

The majority of the iconographies were systematized from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the most prominent iconographers, such as Yōgon, Ejū, Shikaku, Kakuzen, Genshō or Shōchō were active, then, it seems, these types and variations were copied and used as *honzon*s from time to time. In the early centuries of the Heian period nothing is truly coherent. The first endeavours to give a coherent picture of the multifarious rituals and their principal deities survive from the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

### IV.4.1. Basic Types of the Two-Armed Image

A comparative analysis of the surviving materials about the Fugen Enmei images makes it evident that the two-armed iconography is more consistent than the twenty-armed one. The first problem is constituted in – as we saw previously – the number of elephants supporting the lotus throne under the bodhisattva figure. The problem lies in the interpretation of the Fugen Enmei scripture. Yanagisawa gives four categories, however, he left out the mandala type two-armed images, which are not in the mandala drawings.<sup>476</sup> Therefore I am proposing five groups of the extant drawings and paintings.

---

<sup>476</sup> Yanagisawa 1969: 499-502; 509.

Type	Characteristics	Image
Canonical type	Vajra sceptre and bell Three-headed elephant	<i>Besson zakki</i> mandala drawing
		Matsunoodera painting
		Nara painting
		Burke drawing
		Enryakuji painting
Zuzōshō type	Vajra sceptre and bell Three elephants	<i>Zuzōshō</i> drawing
		Keishōji painting
Tōji Kanchiin type	Vajra sceptre and bell Three-headed elephant Shitennō	Tōji Kanchiin drawing
		<i>Kakuzenshō</i> drawing
		Boston MFA painting
		Jōidō painting
Mandala type	Adamantine fist mudrā Three elephants	<i>Besson zakki</i> mandala drawing
		<i>Shoson zuzō</i> mandala drawing
		<i>Shoson zuzō</i> drawing
		<i>Shikashō zuzō</i> drawing
		<i>Sho Monju zuzō</i> drawing
Enmei bosatsu type	Vajra sceptre and bell No elephant	<i>Zuzōshō</i> drawing
		<i>Kakuzenshō</i> drawing
		<i>Besson zakki</i> drawing
		<i>Asabashō</i> drawing
		Daigoji painting (14 <sup>th</sup> century)
		Daigoji painting (1416)
		Daigoji painting (15 <sup>th</sup> century)
		Daigoji painting (17 <sup>th</sup> century)
		Daigoji painting (1654)
		Daigoji painting (1671)
		Daigoji painting (1702)
		Daigoji painting (1740)
		Daigoji painting (1785)

**Table 3. The two-armed image types**

The first type is the principal canonical image with the three-headed elephant and the small elephants carrying the vajra wheel the main elephant steps on. Another type however emerged quite early with three elephants standing close next to each other. It is already addressed in the *Shijū jōketsu* 四十帖決 of Chōen 長宴 (1016-1081) of the Taimitsu tradition, the earliest extant ritual source, which discusses the Enmei ritual and its *honzon*.<sup>477</sup> As we see in the text, which is the oral tradition of Kōgei 皇慶 (977-1049), master of Chōen, they already differentiated between an Enmei and a Fugen Enmei bodhisattva iconography in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, however, as it will be addressed later, it was quite the opposite as what will become standard during the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>478</sup> According to an interesting remark of Chōen's in 1045, Fugen Enmei's elephant is a one-bodied, three-headed specimen, which was introduced by a monk named Genshō 源照 (d.u.) of the Tōji temple.<sup>479</sup> For now we will treat Chōen's remark about this two-armed Fugen Enmei depiction as a *prima facie* evidence of a possible first encounter for the Tōmitsu tradition, since the positive identification of this monk is challenging at this time. Nevertheless, according to Kiyota Jakun 清田寂雲 there was a Genshō 源照 at the Ninnaji and Tōji temples around this time.<sup>480</sup> But there was also a Tendai monk named Genshō 玄照 (or 玄昭), a disciple of Ennin, and in the Taishōzō, he is given as the author of the *Shittan ryakki* 悉曇略記,<sup>481</sup> although in the text it is remarked by the copier of 1359, Kenpō 賢宝 (1333-1398), that in Chōen's writing he attributes this to Genshō of the Tōji temple.<sup>482</sup> One fact would, however, corroborate this notion. There is an ink drawing surviving in the Tōji Kanchiin temple on a separate sheet, which shows the described iconography. On the back there is an inscription, which recounts that the temple administrator's image (檢校本) was copied on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month in 1178 (Jishō 2).<sup>483</sup> The administrator at the time was a monk named Teiki 禎喜 (1099-1183),<sup>484</sup> who later became one of the *gojisō* monks

---

<sup>477</sup> T 2408, vol. 76: 825-960.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.* 894a07 – 895a13.

<sup>479</sup> 普賢延命ノ之象ハ一身三頭之様。是東寺源照入寺(本)也 (*Ibid.* 894c09 – 10.)

<sup>480</sup> Kiyota 1979-80: 83.

<sup>481</sup> T 2704, vol. 84: 467-475.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.* 475c07 – 08.

<sup>483</sup> *Tōji meihō shū* 1934: fig.43/upper left

<sup>484</sup> His name and titles are listed in a document (No.193) of the collection of old documents of the Kongōbuji temple on Mt. Kōya, the *Kōyasan monjo* 高野山文書 (also called as *Zokuhō kanshū* 続宝簡集). A consecration of a Kujaku myōō 孔雀明王 (Sk. Mahāmayūrī vidyārāja) image at the Kongōbuji temple in

for the tragically short-lived Emperor Antoku's 安德天皇 (1178-1185, r. 1180-1185, 81<sup>st</sup> emperor of Japan) inauguration rituals, performing the Enmei hō in 1180.<sup>485</sup> This drawing, however, is the earliest image of the second type.

Of the many iconography manuals one of the most important is the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記<sup>486</sup> of Shinkaku 心覚 (1117-1180/82), a late Heian iconographer of the Ninnaji temple, whose depictions would become influential in later centuries.<sup>487</sup> The founder of the Jōkiin hall 常喜院 of the Ninnaji temple, Shinkaku's name appear in many lineages, for he sought out teachings and iconographies of various Shingon branches (Fig. 64). He first started out as a novice at the Miidera (Onjōji), the Tendai affiliated centre of the so-called 'Temple lineage' (Jp. Jimon ha 寺門派) of the Taimitsu tradition, traced back to the teachings of Enchin, by his disciples. Then he moved on to the Tōdaiji temple in Nara, and the Daigoji temple in Kyōto, where he indirectly acquired the teachings of such prominent masters as Kanjin 寛信 (1084-1153, Kajūji temple), Jōkai 定海 (1074-1149, Daigoji temple, Sanpōin lineage), and Chinkai 珍海<sup>488</sup> (1091-1152, Daigoji and Kajūji lineages of the previous two masters; also Tōdaiji and Tōji temples). The next destination was Mt. Kōya, where he spent twelve years studying from Ken'i 兼意 (d.u, Mt. Kōya).<sup>489</sup> He was initiated into the Ono lineage secret teachings by the Daigoji monks, Hōjin 宝心 (d.u, Rishōin

---

1172 (Shōan 承安 2) is recorded, which was conducted by Teiki, who was at the time temple administrator among other ranks.

<sup>485</sup> DNS vol. 3, No.903.

URL: <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/T38/1180/05-2-2/11/0057?m=all&s=0057>

<sup>486</sup> TZ vol. 3: 57-673. It becomes evident from the *Jōkiin shō mokuroku* 常喜院抄目録<sup>486</sup> of 1217 (a monk named Shungen's 俊玄 copy), preserved in the Ninnaji temple, that Shinkaku's writing was called *Besson zakki* very early on. (Manabe 1969: 80-82.) The Jōkiin temple was built on Mt. Kōya by Shinkaku, and with this he is regarded as the founder of the Jōkiin lineage 常喜院流. It is also interesting that besides the *Besson zakki*, a *Fugen Enmei*, and an *Enmei hō* is listed as well.

<sup>487</sup> There are many copies surviving, mostly partial ones. The Taishōzō introduces the Ninnaji copy (ICP). There are also copies – among others – in the Zuishin'in 随心院 and Hōkiin 宝亀院 temples on Mt. Kōya, and the Hōbodaiin 宝菩提院 of the Tōji temple.

<sup>488</sup> Manabe 1969: 70. Manabe writes about Shinkaku's time with Chinkai when the master was already old and became the performing master (Jp. *ikō* 已講) of the three lectures (Jp. *sanne* 三会) at the Tōdaiji temple. Shinkaku was attending these lectures. Chinkai was also famous for his iconographic drawings, some are extant, especially famous are those of the Tōji temple, which he signed as the 'number one picture master under the sky' (Tenka dai ichi eshi 天下第一絵師).

<sup>489</sup> His master was Kakugyō cloistered-prince 覚行法親王 (1075-1105, third son of Emperor Shirakawa, the first prince to be called a *hosshinnō* 法親王), or otherwise called Naka Omuro 中御室 of the Ninnaji temple. Kakugyō is in the line of Ninnaji monzeki monks, his master was Shōshin 性信 (1005-1085), whose master was Seijin 済信 (954-1030), directly linked to the founder's, Kūkai's lineage.

lineage) and Jitsuun (Kajūji and Sanpōin lineages), and into the Hirozawa lineage by Kakuin 覚印 (d.u.).<sup>490</sup>

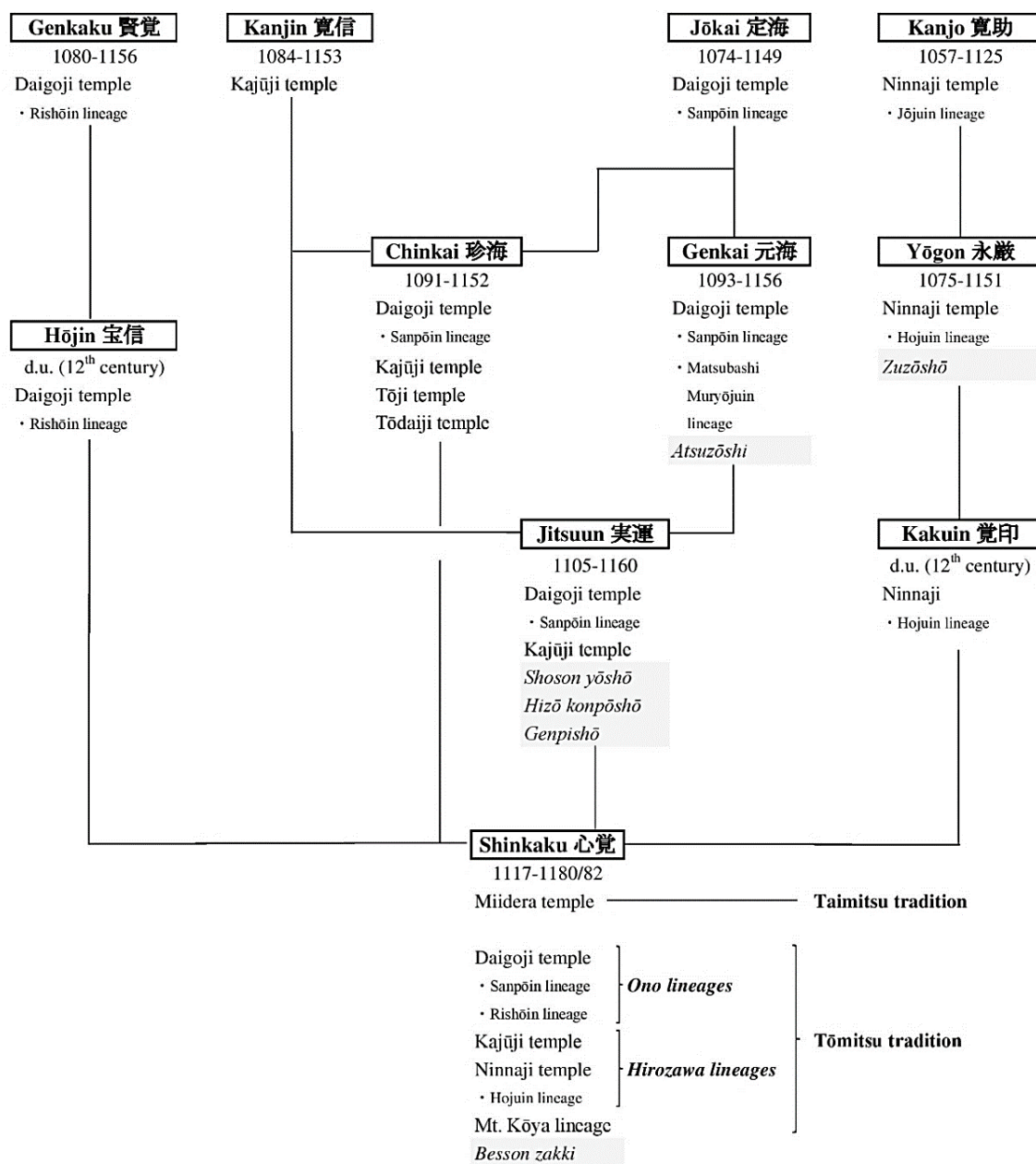


Figure 64. Shinkaku's Ono and Hirozawa lineages

<sup>490</sup> He was the disciple of Yōgon, one of the collectors of the previously analysed Zuzōshō, and founder of the Hojuin ryū, of which lineage Shinkaku also became a member by Kakuin.



There are four sections of Enmei and Fugen Enmei, with four related drawings, included in fasc. 27.<sup>491</sup> This also shows one of his masters' Jitsuun's direct influence, since both deities are discussed in all his three writings, the *Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄,<sup>492</sup> the *Hizō konpōshō* 秘藏金寶鈔,<sup>493</sup> and the *Genpishō* 玄秘鈔.<sup>494</sup> All of these treatises agree upon Fugen Enmei bosatsu being a twenty-armed deity, mounted on top of four great white elephants. So the two-armed version is Enmei. Jitsuun equals Fugen Enmei with Daianraku bosatsu, and repeats his master's, Genkai's 元海 summary of the different elephants. Fortunately, Shinkaku indicated which teaching comes from which of his teachers (lineages), so we know that the short Enmei description is indeed Jitsuun's (俱胝院), the twenty-armed iconography with the Amoghavajra oral transmission comes from Ken'i (成蓮房), while the visualization of Fugen Enmei part is the teaching of Kanjo (成就院), which he could have obtained from Kakuin, who was also in Kanjo's lineage. Surely enough, the same visualization is described in Kanjo's writing, the *Betsugyō* 別行, which only discusses the twenty-armed Fugen Enmei deity.<sup>495</sup> The Fugen Enmei hō segment reveals that Shinkaku was also familiar with Ejū's (勝定房) views as well.

The two-armed Fugen Enmei image is almost the perfect example of the canonical image, however, there are no halos or Moon disk drawn behind the bodhisattva (Fig. 65). There is a short inscription in the upper left corner which verifies the iconographer's intentions: "*I add this. It is in the style of the (description given in the) Fugen Enmei Sūtra, translated by Amoghavajra.*" On the chest of the bosatsu the "whitish flesh colour" is also remarked. This iconography might have been applied by probably a great number of images, of which two paintings and a drawing survives today. Of those, the paintings – along the already introduced Matunoodera painting (Plate 2) – are all related to places of the Taimitsu tradition, that is to say the Shōren'in and the Enryakuji temples (Plates 11 and 15). The other drawing, in the Minneapolis Institute of Art (formerly owned by the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, Plate 19) is the copy of Shinkaku's drawing, which is proven not just by the corresponding features, but also by the same inscription in the upper left corner. It is dated

---

<sup>491</sup> TZ vol. 3: 322-330.

<sup>492</sup> T 2484, vol. 78: 289-338.

<sup>493</sup> T 2485, vol. 78: 339-375.

<sup>494</sup> T 2486, vol. 78: 376-414.

<sup>495</sup> T 2476, vol. 78: 151b09 - 13.

to 1322, around the end of the Kamakura era.<sup>496</sup> A painting with a very similar iconography turned up in the collection of the Enryakuji temple (Plate 15). This image has never been studied or published before, and although the temple advocates that it is an Edo period work, I suggest otherwise. The bodhisattva and the elephant with three heads are positioned in the same manner, the iconographical connection is undeniable.



Figure 65. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Besson zakki*, TZ Vol. 3, p. 329.

No matter that the canonical image is explained in a Buddhist scripture, still not many images survive in that category. Since in the text the Shitennō are not described with the image, those images are in a separate group, outnumbering the canonical images. The Matsunoodera image, the earliest surviving painting is the exact depiction of the text, and so is the Nara painting, previously owned by the Shōren'in temple (ICP, Plate 11). Both temples are Tendai affiliated, so it is in accordance with the 12<sup>th</sup> century view. It is in the Hishō of the Shingon monk Shōken 勝賢 (1138-1196), it is said in the Sanpōin lineage that the Tendai *honzon* is a three-headed elephant.<sup>497</sup>

The Matsunoodera bosatsu's facial features, the decorated body and head halos, and the extensive use of silver, all characteristics undeniably point to the 12<sup>th</sup> century execution.

<sup>496</sup> Mieko 2013: entry 8. See also the website of the Mary Griggs Burke Collection. (URL: <http://burkecollection.org/catalogue/8-fugen-enmei-bosatsu>)

<sup>497</sup> 天台ノ本ハ一身三頭象 (T 2489, vol. 78: 530c12.)

Such halos are apparent mostly on the paintings of these century, such as Yama (Jp. Enmaten 閻魔天) of the Daigoji temple (Figs. 66-67), the Cundī Avalokiteśvara (Jp. Juntei Kannon 准胝観音) in the TNM (Fig. 76), or the Boston MFA painting (Plate 3). It is also common in the paintings of this period, that probably in order to highlight the decorated halos, the otherwise prescribed Moon disk is not depicted on any of them.

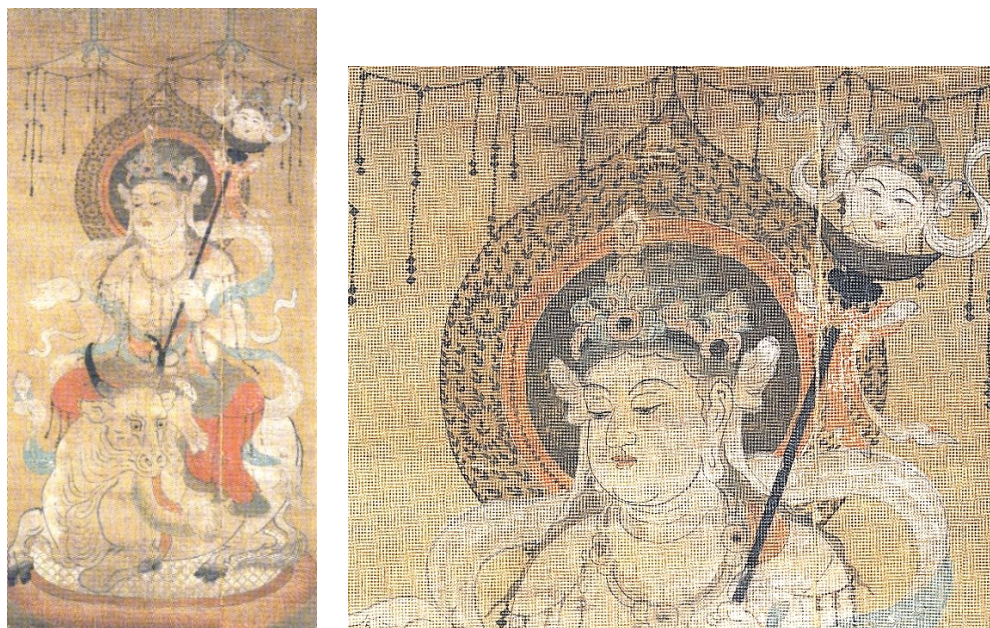


Figure 66. Yama, Daigoji temple, 12<sup>th</sup> century (NT)

Figure 67. Yama, detail, Daigoji temple, 12<sup>th</sup> century (NT)

The Matsunoodera painting is frequently displayed in museum exhibitions of esoteric art. It is also described in the *Kokka*, however, apart from stylistic or iconographic analysis, we do not know much about this painting.<sup>498</sup>

The Nara painting (Plate 11) was dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century by Yanagisawa,<sup>499</sup> however, today it is generally accepted that it was made in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>500</sup> Although it is very poorly visible, there was a Moon disk around the bosatsu, which is new compared to the previous painting. It was completely puzzling at first that if so many mandalas were made

<sup>498</sup> *Kokka* No. 304. The painting was featured during many exhibitions, see Table 1. in the Introduction (pp. 19-21).

<sup>499</sup> Yanagisawa 1969: 520.

<sup>500</sup> See for example the NNM website. (URL: <http://www.narahaku.go.jp/collection/1175-0.html>)

for rituals (see Table 4. below, pp. 191-192.), how come that none survives today as paintings. The answer might be that they were not at all mandalas, in the sense of the original meaning of the word. This painting is the evidence that the *honzon*s were not exclusively of the mandala type surviving in the *Besson zakki* and *Shoson zuzō*, examined below. From the records and the existence of the two-armed canonical images with the three-headed elephants we can assume that the mandala title was given to all *honzon*s upon the rituals at the Shōren'in.

Although it is almost impossible to identify images in sources, due to the lack of information given in writing, there is one record in the *Mon'yōki*, the records of the temple that this image came from, that might be talking about this Nara painting. The ritual was held in 1231, at the Ichijō palace 一条殿, and the occasion was the main consort's pregnancy (or birth giving). There was a new Enmei mandala used as *honzon*, made of three stripes of cloth (三幅曼荼羅新図之). The Nara image is dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and also has this distribution. But the most important is that the author of the record is wondering if the three-headed elephant is the Tōin version of Enchin or not, when he inscribes that it is not the conventional type (with three elephants).<sup>501</sup> The only other mention of this kind of mandala in the 13<sup>th</sup> century is eight years later, in 1239, when the performing *ācārya* was Jigen 慈賢 (1175-1241). The mandala is said to be an old – meaning that they did not have a new image made for this occasion – and of the Tōin version, made of three stripes of cloths.<sup>502</sup> This painting therefore can be what they used during the previous 1231 ritual. The two performing monks were contemporaries and both studied under Jien, perhaps in the same time, so they could have used the same kind of image as *honzon* during their respective rituals.

The Enryakuji painting (Plate 27) is an interesting discovery, since it was deemed unimportant by the temple, believing that it is an Edo period copy, when stylistic and iconographic characteristics point to an earlier date of making. It is the same type of image as the *Besson zakki* and Burke drawings, introduced above. The full, round face of the bodhisattva is much closer to the Kamakura painting style of the late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as the bosatsu's face in the Nara painting, or the twenty-armed deity in the

---

<sup>501</sup> 唐院本敷。(…) 非世流布之一身三頭象也。(TZ vol.11: 651a18 – 20.)

<sup>502</sup> 御本尊古佛。(…) 曼荼羅三鋪也。唐院本也。(Ibid. 655a27; 656a04 – 05.)



Ryūjōin temple (Plate 12), both dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Also, the style does not show the then popular Chinese features, which is seen for example on the bosatsu's face in the Burke drawing (Plate 19), or the two standing Enmei bodhisattvas of the Daigoji temple (Plates 45 and 46), on which Sawa clearly saw the influence of the Yuan and Ming Buddhist art. The crown and various decorative jewellery are also closer in style to the 14<sup>th</sup> century bodhisattva paintings, such as the Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara (Jp. Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音) and Ākāśagarbha bodhisattva (Jp. Kokūzō bosatsu 虚空蔵菩薩) paintings in the NNM, both dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Figs. 68-69). Although the plainness of the surfaces indicate that it was unfinished, since no ornamentation or decorating pattern are painted on the garments, the signs of usage are clearly indicated by the darkening of colours.

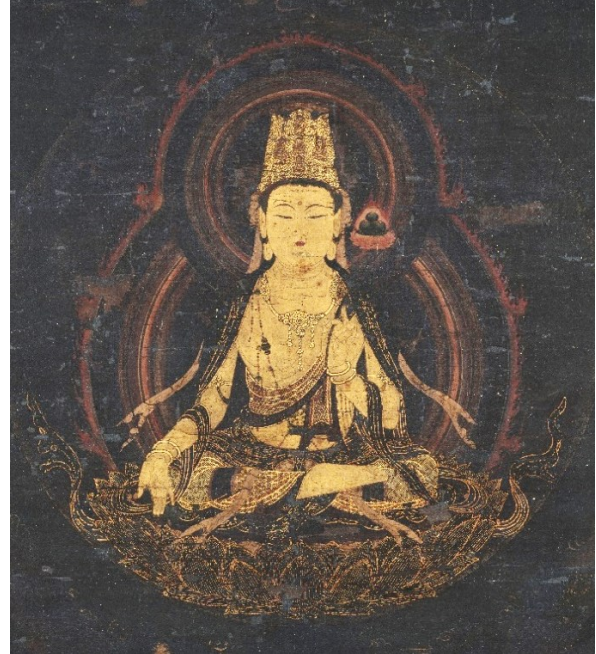
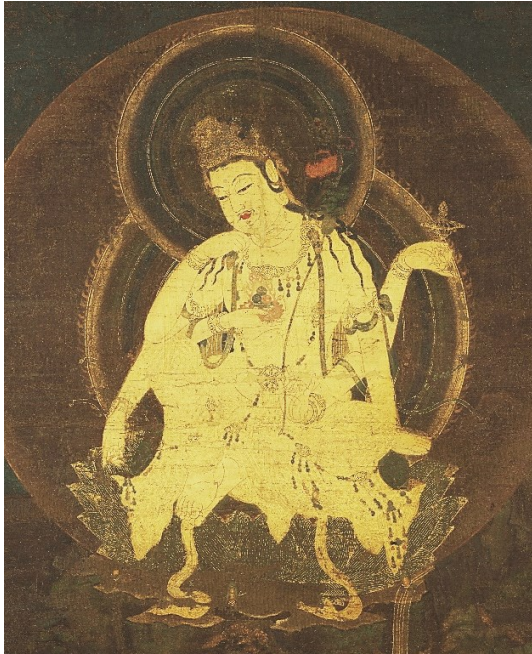


Figure 68. Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, detail, NNM (Acq. no.: 1273-0), 14<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)

Figure 69. Ākāśagarbha, detail, NNM (Acq. no.: 1108-0), 14<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)

#### IV.4.2. Images with Three Elephants in Tōmitsu Iconography Compilations

After the Taimitsu domination in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Tōmitsu monks started to perform the Fugen Enmei ritual as well. Although it was scarce at first, but especially from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the number of rituals conducted by Shingon monks increase rapidly. It is mostly the cloistered-princes of the Ninnaji temple,

and the monks of the Daigoji temple, who performed the Fugen Enmei hō. Possibly owing to this growing popularity, Shingon ritual manuals also included the two *honzons* of Enmei and Fugen Enmei. Unlike such books of the Taimitsu tradition, many of the Shingon monks added the various iconographic forms of the many deities.

The earliest surviving such manual is the *Zuzōshō* 図像抄, or in its other name, the *Jikkanshō* 十卷抄. It is also one of the most discussed of the Shingon ritual and iconography collections, since there are two versions to it: one was collated by Yōgon 永嚴 (1075-1151), a Ninnaji monk, the other by his contemporary Ejū 恵什 (d.u.). Tamura Takateru 田村隆照, upon summarising the construction and origins of these texts, came to the conclusion that the existing copies of the former are usually called the *Jikkanshō*, while the ones with the latter's name in it is called the *Zuzōshō*.<sup>503</sup> From the postscripts (*okugaki*) of the fascicles of each existing set, it becomes clear that not long after its permeation there had already been arguments about the authorship of this work. Although in Yōgon's version, one of the postscripts state that it was made by him for the Cloistered-emperor Toba in 1139/40, the Jōrakuin copy, however, has another postscript declaring that the true editor was Ejū, no matter that it is generally attributed to the other monk.<sup>504</sup> The confusion may be because the two monks probably worked together on it when they were both quartered at the Ninnaji temple. However, when Ejū left to return to the Kajūji temple, Yōgon quasi declared this collection, as his own by the said postscript. So Ejū made a second collection and added his own notions to the text, hence there are slight differences between the two versions, argues Taniguchi Tetsuo 谷口鉄男, as Tamura highlights it.<sup>505</sup>

There are many extant copies, partial or somewhat complete, but the earliest of them is from 1193, and preserved in the Daigoji temple. This is where Yōgon's name first appear. The second copy in line is that of the Jōrakuin temple 浄楽院, which names Ejū as the collector. In the *Taishōzō* another copy of the Entsūji temple (Mt. Kōya), made by the Ninnaji monk Ingen 印玄 (d.u.) is included. Since the DNBZ chose to publish the Jōrakuin version the comparative examination is possible of these two versions.

---

<sup>503</sup> Tamura 1969: 48.

<sup>504</sup> *Ibid.* 46-47. 「平等房十卷抄云云真実ニハ恵什闍梨集之」

<sup>505</sup> *Ibid.* 49.



Figure 70. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō*, DNBZ vol. 52, p. 253.

Figure 71. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō*, TZ vol. 3, Figure No. 31, between 18/19.

Figure 72. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō: Ishiyamadera shozō Jikkanshō* (1988.)

In the *Taishōzō* version both the Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals are discussed briefly. The former in fasc.5, the latter in fasc.4, with their ink drawings included (Figs. 70-71). The two-armed image is depicted in a way that is ambiguous. In the DNBZ, it looks like three elephants but their four legs indicate the three-headed elephant. In the *Taishōzō* version we see actually three elephants, with enough legs for all, therefore, monks looking at this image would have thought that the canonical iconography was with three animals. In the Edo period copy in the Ishiyamadera, it is made clear that the elephants stand side by side. As we see, other elements barely changes, the Moon disk is not present in any of these images, however, the Ishiyama drawing does not have the wheel and the small elephants (Fig. 72).

#### IV.4.3. Two-Armed Images with Shitennō Figures

In the Fugen Enmei *sūtra* the Four Guardian deities have a prominent role, as the protector and helper of the bodhisattva, their vows and *dhāraṇī* exposition. This appearance

in the scripture may have inspired monks to (or artists) to also depict them surrounding the deity in a protecting manner.

This type has two kind of depictions: the drawings, and one painting. The drawings show the exact same iconography, and were probably copied from the same source (or from one another). The Tōji Kanchiin image is the earliest (1178, Plate 4) of the extant ink drawings, next in line is the one in the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 (1185, Figs. 74-75),<sup>506</sup> then comes the *Sho Monju zuzō* image (13th century, Fig. 73). All of the listed images show the bodhisattva in the middle, sitting in kekkaфуza on a lotus flower. In the fervent desire to depict the exact canonical image, the iconographer created a thousand-petalled lotus flower which is dominating the drawing completely. The Kanchiin and *Sho Monju zuzō* drawings have double body and head halos, unlike those depicted in the *Kakuzenshō*, but they all have corresponding Moon disks. The three-headed elephant is depicted in an unnatural way – not that three heads on an elephant are natural – , attempting to show the four legs the scripture and the commentators stress in this iconography. In the *Kakuzenshō* versions, the elephant is like three of them were melted together. It is not hard to confuse this depiction with the three-elephant one. The four figures of the Shitennō are standing on top of small, round platforms (rocks perhaps), close to the bodhisattva, turning towards him in the four corners of the painting, two on each side. Their arrangement in the four cardinal directions is identical in all iconographic drawings:

- upper right corner: Tamonten (North)
- lower right corner: Jikokuten (East)
- upper left corner: Kōmokuten (West)
- lower left corner: Zōchōten (South)

These are indicated in inscriptions in the two *Kakuzenshō* copies.

---

<sup>506</sup> Nakano 1969b: 154. The three copies of the Zōjōji 増上寺 (DNBZ), the Daigoji, and the Kanchiin temples have end notes saying: 元暦二年二月廿五日撰写之了、覺禪 生年卅三. For more about Kakuzen and his work see Nakano 1969a and 1969c, and Shimizu 1969. Another volume was published recently with the most up-to-date studies about this monumental iconographical work, see *Kakuzenshō Kenkyūkai* 2004.



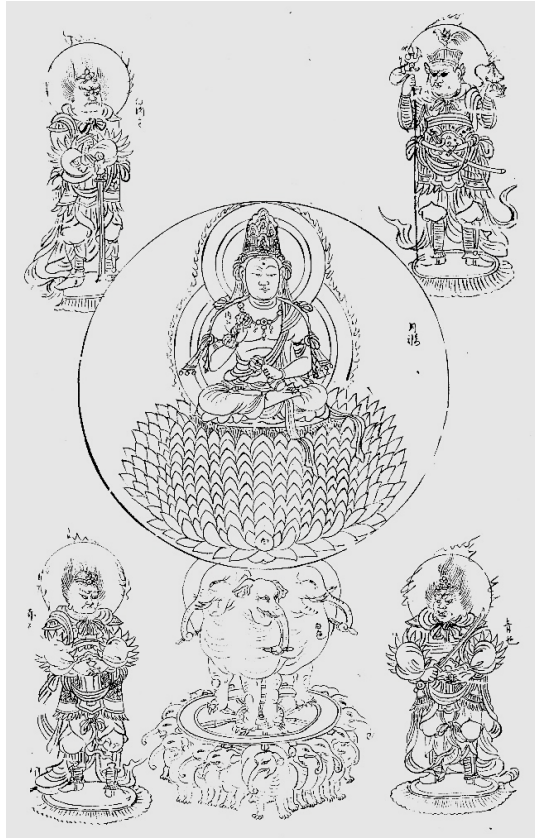


Figure 73. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Sho Monju zuzō*, *Daigoji taikan* vol. 2, p. 111.



Figure 74. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Kakuzenshō*, TZ vol. 5, p. 106.



Figure 75. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Kakuzenshō*, DNBZ vol. 55, p. 18.

The Boston painting is the only extant version of this design. There is no change in the arrangement, even the Shitennō deities are set in the prescribed way. In their features, the bodhisattva and the elephant is very close to the Matsunoodera painting. Based upon the facial features, the garments, the patterns, the ornaments, the lotus petals, the decorated halos (Figs. 77-78), and especially the presence of the four guardian figures, the Cundī of the TNM (Figs. 76) seem to be an analogue for the Boston painting. I dare say so that the two paintings show sufficient amount of similitude, not just the iconographical features, but also stylistic qualities, for us not to exclude the possibility of at least a workshop connection.



Figure 76. Cundī Avalokiteśvara, TNM (Acq. nr. A11796), 12<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)





**Figure 77. Fugen Enmei bosatsu, detail, Boston MFA (Acq. nr: 11.4036), 12<sup>th</sup> century**



**Figure 78. Cundī Avalokiteśvara, detail, TNM (Acq. nr. A11796), 12<sup>th</sup> century (ICP)**

There may be other copies of this type, hidden in Japanese temple treasuries and archives, but until they emerge, we conclude that this image was not passed down after the Kamakura era. As to why the Shitennō appeared in the depiction in the first place, I highlighted a possible solution; but as to why it disappeared again, I have no answers yet.

#### IV.4.4. The Mandala Images

The *Besson zakki* is the first to include an iconographic drawing of the so-called Fugen Enmei mandala, which was exclusively used by the Taimitsu tradition during the Fugen Enmei rituals. It shows a two-armed bodhisattva, sitting on a lotus throne, carried by three elephants (Figs. 79-81). The peculiarity of this depiction is in the substitution of the symbols (sceptre and bell) to the adamantine fist mudrā, and the wheel under the elephants to small lotus flowers. The Fugen Enmei mandala with a two armed bodhisattva, was probably imported by Ennin from Tang China. Fortunately his journal of his sojourn on the continent, the *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 was preserved. He writes about a Fugen Enmei image in the Fugen Hall on Mount Wutai, where the bodhisattva sits on top of three elephants. The entry is in the third fascicle, as we have seen above. Since he does not remark the symbols in the bodhisattva's hands, it can be assumed that the deity did not hold anything, but maybe formed the mudrā, as in the Fugen Enmei mandala. One of Ennin's three lists of imported scriptures and images can further attest to this. In the *Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖經目錄,<sup>507</sup> he lists one image:

普賢延命像一鋪 三幅苗<sup>508</sup>

Fugen Enmei image – drawn on one spread of three stripes of cloth

<sup>507</sup> T 2167, Vol.55. Ennin's other two *mokurokus* does not mention Fugen Enmei in any way.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.* 1084c02.



Figure 79. Fugen Enmei mandala. From *Besson zakki* of Shinkaku (Ninnaji), TZ Vol.3, p. 330.

Sawa points out first in his study of imported Buddhist paintings from the Heian era, published in 1950, that Kakuzen wrote about a mandala in the Zentōin 前唐院,<sup>509</sup> which was the treasury of the Buddhist scriptures and images imported by Ennin in the 9<sup>th</sup> century:

「或私記云 谷 如本經又有前唐院曼荼羅云々」 「或私記云、大原一身三頭象如又前唐院有曼荼羅」<sup>510</sup>

And I note that the (honzon of the) valley [Miidera temple] is like the scripture, and there is again the Zentōin mandala. And I note that the Ōhara (honzon is with) a one-bodied and three-headed elephant, which is again is like the Zentōin mandala.

These citations cannot be discovered in the *Taishōzō* or DNBZ *Kakuzenshō*, but instead, we find an abbreviated version of them:

<sup>509</sup> The word Tōin 唐院 was used for the treasuries of Buddhist scriptures and images brought back from Tang China at Mt. Hiei, built by Ennin. After Enchin built a second Tōin hall at Mt. Hiei (after Ennin's death), and with the deterioration of the relationship between Ennin's and Enchin's disciples during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the first hall was renamed Zentōin, or the 'before Tōin,' by Ennin's lineage, to distinguish between these two, and to emphasize the primacy of their master's teachings.

<sup>510</sup> Sawa 1950: 30.



賢(覚?)尋云。前唐院本 云々 大原云。一身三頭象。<sup>511</sup>  
 (About the mandala,) Kakujin says that (the honzon is) the Zentōin version.  
 Ōhara says that (the honzon is with) a one-bodied and three-headed elephant.



Figure 80. Fugen Enmei mandala. From *Shoson zuzō* (Tōji Kanchiin), TZ Vol.3, p.699.  
 Figure 81. Fugen Enmei mandala. From *Shoson zuzō* (MOA), *Zuzō shūsei* Vol.9, p.13.

Also, most ritual procedures or manuals of the Taimitsu tradition name their honzon as a – Fugen Enmei, or simply Enmei – mandala. The first source for the distinctive set-up of the mandala is found in the *Gyōrinshō*, the previously mentioned Taimitsu treatise of Jōnen (Fig. 82).

<sup>511</sup> TZ vol. 5: 118c16.

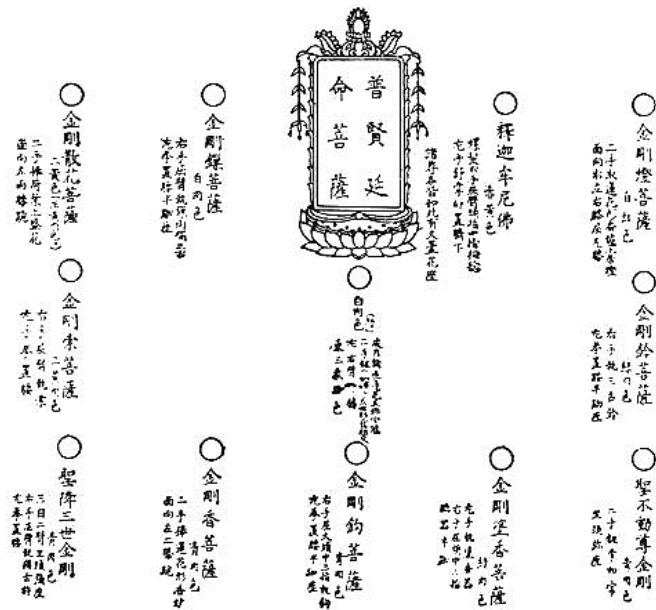


Figure 82. Plan of the Fugen Enmei Mandala. From *Gyōrinshō*, T 2409, vol. 76, p. 148.

The two iconographical drawings are exactly the same: in the middle there is Fugen Enmei bodhisattva, depicted with two arms, his hands showing the (adamantine) fist mudrā. The bosatsu sits on a throne which is on the backs of three elephants standing closely next to each other. There are eleven other deities around the bosatsu, a buddha, other bosatsus and two myōōs. The program of this setting is unclear. Only two sources explicate this mandala, one of them is the *Gyōrinshō*, in which Jōnen remarks that he copied Keihan's 慶範 (997–1061) mandala image, which was the copy of the Tang image in the Tōin made by a monk whose name is undecipherable.<sup>512</sup> The other is the aforementioned *Besson zakki* (in the *Shoson zuzō* no explanatory notes are added).

#### IV.4.5. The Mandala Bosatsu Outside the Mandala

Although sometimes manuscripts survive in different places than the initial location where their collector resided, it may not be a coincidence that a group of three iconography

<sup>512</sup> 右前唐院本也。以圓融房御本圖寫之。彼本云。天喜六年 [1058] 戊戌三月三日。以唐院唐本圖寫之。金剛弟子良 (T 2409, vol. 76: 148a26 – 28.)



manuals survive in the Daigoji temple, which has the same kind of two-armed images, isolated from all other extant depictions, including drawings and paintings as well. They are all connected in their hypothetical author, the previously introduced Shinkaku, who was the most important Shingon iconographer in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, besides Kakuzen (though some of the latter's iconographies were made in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century). This unique group of iconographies are in the *Shoson zuzō* 諸尊図像,<sup>513</sup> the *Shikashō zuzō* 四家鈔図像,<sup>514</sup> and the *Sho Monju zuzō* 諸文殊図像.<sup>515</sup> We will see that even though they can be grouped together, in other aspects they also differ significantly, which will prevent us from actually being able to link them to one person.

The first of these survives in three older,<sup>516</sup> and various Edo period copies.<sup>517</sup> Although some scholars, such as Matsumoto Moritaka takes it for granted that this iconography manual is also the work of Shinkaku,<sup>518</sup> however, according to Ariga Yoshitaka's 有賀祥隆 short introductory writing in the *Daigoji taikan* 醍醐寺大観,<sup>519</sup> or the *Zuzō shūsei* 図像蒐成 version of the MOA museum, edited by Kōzen Hiroshi 興膳宏 and Izumi Takeo 泉武夫, stylistic differences excludes his authorship.<sup>520</sup> Even though his influence is never denied. The *Taishōzō* clearly states that the Kanchiin copy was collected by Shinkaku (心覚集).<sup>521</sup> The other two are only extant in a Daigoji copy, which are dated to the Kamakura period (both designated as ICP).

---

<sup>513</sup> TZ vol. 3: 675-748. Tōji Kanchiin copy.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.* 749-915. Daigoji copy.

<sup>515</sup> TZ vol. 6: 95-113. Daigoji copy.

<sup>516</sup> The Daigoji copy is the oldest. It is dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and was designated an ICP (*Daigoji taikan* Vol.2: 77-78.). Also, there is one in the MOA Museum of Art in Atami, Shizuoka, attributed to Shinkaku and dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, also ICP (info from website: <http://www.moaart.or.jp/?collections=015>). In the *Taishōzō zuzō* the copy of the Tōji Kanchiin temple is included. It was restored in 1706, by a monk named Kōkai 果快 (d.u.), affiliated with the Tōji Kanchiin temple, according to the side notes at the end of both fascicles (*Zuzō shūsei* Vol.9: *Shoson zuzō*, no page number).

<sup>517</sup> A three-scroll copy is in the NDL, the TNM, and a two fascicles copy is in the collection of the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 (formerly in the possession of the Tōji Kanchiin temple), which is called *Shoson zuzō shū* 諸尊図像集. There is another copy in the Iwase Bunko collection (*kansubon* of three fascicles), made in 1855, which lists a Fugen Enmei image. However, I have not yet seen this image, so I cannot comment on it. (URL:<https://trc-adeac.trc.co.jp/WJ11E0/WJS06U/2321315100/2321315100100010/?hid=ht024390&word=%E8%AB%B8%E5%B0%8A%E5%9B%B3%E5%83%8F>)

<sup>518</sup> See for example his article about the iconography of Śākyamuni's Sermon on the Vulture Peak (Matsumoto 1993).

<sup>519</sup> *Daigoji taikan* vol. 2: 77-78.

<sup>520</sup> *Zuzō shūsei* vol. 9: *Shoson zuzō* (no page number)

<sup>521</sup> TZ vol. 3: 12.

Ruling out Shinkaku as iconographer of these works can be further confirmed by the examination of their Fugen Enmei drawings. Even if the *Shoson zuzō* is the only other source – that we know of – for the depiction of the Fugen Enmei mandala, the two-armed individual deity (Figs. 83-84) varies from the till then common depiction of the canonical image, and a new type is produced, which is not featured in any earlier extant sources. The inclusion of the mandala drawing does suggest that the collector knew about Shinkaku's drawing, since it is the exact copy of the latter's to the last detail, such as the designation,<sup>522</sup> nevertheless, the “new” two-armed depiction proposes two scenarios: that whoever collected these iconographies in this volume did not know neither the canonical image, nor the twenty-armed type; or that – for some unclear reason – he omitted those deliberately.

The Daigoji version is somewhat different from the others. It may be a fragment of a once larger iconography manual. It consists of only twenty individual deities and one mandala.<sup>523</sup> Fugen Enmei is represented with a single twenty-armed image, called Enmei (廿臂延命, Fig. 107). The missing two-armed image may indicate what is also further attested by the surviving paintings, namely that in the Daigoji temple, by the Kamakura period the latest, the *honzon*s of the two rituals were already set: the two-armed deity without elephants was the Enmei ritual *honzon*, and the twenty-armed bosatsu on four elephants was the Fugen Enmei ritual *honzon*.



Figure 83. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shoson zuzō* (Tōji Kanchiin), TZ Vol.3, p.698.  
Figure 84. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shoson zuzō* (MOA), *Zuzō shūsei* Vol.9, p.12.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.* 43. 「普賢延命 山 前唐院本」

<sup>523</sup> *Daigoji taiken* vol. 2: 77.

The exceptionally brief inscriptions next to the images only state the bosatsu's name, seed syllable, symbol (armour), and mantra. The armour is also drawn in small size under the deity's image. The bodhisattva is not holding his standard symbols, the vajra and the bell, but forms the adamantine fist mudrā with his hands, just like the deity in the Fugen Enmei mandala. The three elephants are standing on a vajra wheel, but the group of the smaller ones is omitted altogether. This image, and the drawings in the more or less contemporary *Shikashō zuzō* and *Sho Monju zuzō* (Figs. 85-86) are the only examples for this kind of depiction among the early images. It will not become standard, especially in painted images, where the deity is always shown holding the symbols of the canonical image.



Figure 85. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shikashō zuzō* (Daigoji), TZ Vol.3, p.814.  
Figure 86. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Sho Monju zuzō* (Daigoji), TZ Vol.6, p.99.

The other two collections differ in one way, namely that the twenty-armed images are also included. The title of the *Shikashō zuzō* is supposedly points to the four masters (四家) of Shinkaku, namely Ejū, Kanjo 寛助, Kenni 兼意 (d.u.), and Jitsuun 実運, only Ejū's influence is documented in it.<sup>524</sup> Of these four masters we know of the writings of two – with exception of Kanjo and Kenni – which included Enmei and /or Fugen Enmei. The resemblance of the *Shoson zuzō* and the *Shikashō zuzō* is emphasized by the *Zuzō shūsei*, and that connection is undeniable, looking at the previous iconography, however, instead of the mandala, a twenty-armed Daianraku (not even Enmei or Fugen Enmei) on a geometrical throne is included in the latter (Fig. 96). What is even more interesting is that in an Edo

<sup>524</sup> *Daigoji taikan* vol. 2: 76. At the Rokujiten 六字天 drawing of fasc. 1, the following is written: 「恵什闍梨記書之」.

period copy of the former, owned by the NDL, include the same two-armed Fugen Enmei and twenty-armed Daianraku bodhisattvas (Fig. 97) depicted in the *Shikashō zuzō*.<sup>525</sup> This copy may be called *Shoson zuzō*, but – apart from the obvious dissimilarity in artistic quality – the Fugen Enmei section is corresponding in every character with that of the *Shikashō zuzō*.

Apart from the images, the primary sources of the rituals are the abundant corpus of the ritual journals (Jp. *nikki* 日記). The first Fugen Enmei rituals at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century were recorded in the Fugen Enmei hō nikki 普賢延命法日記 (cited hereafter as *Nikki*), preserved in the *Asabashō*<sup>526</sup> and the *Gunsho ruijū* collection.<sup>527</sup> Luckily enough, some of the ritual descriptions also contain a brief entry on the *honzon*. If we are to believe these accounts, we can trace some of the changes in the *honzens*. The *Nikki* tells us that the first ever Fugen Enmei rituals were conducted frequently in the last three decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> (in 1075, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1083, 1084, 1085, and 1095), and during the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries (1102, 1104, 1105, 1127, 1132, 1133, 1195, 1217, and 1222).<sup>528</sup> Of these occasions, ten provides us any kind of information about the images installed for the time of the ritual. The *honzon* during the first examples are all called Enmei or Enmei mandala, and according to the concise description, it seems that all were the twenty-armed deity images with three elephants. During the rituals of 1075 and 1080, both conducted by the Tendai monk Kakujin 覚尋 (1012-1081) – he is called Ōhara sōzu 大原僧都 or Kongōjuin 金剛寿院 in the text –, the *honzon* is called Enmei mandala, but no description was added. Nevertheless, the third occasion (1080) entry gives a complete, although probably faulty description of the principal image:

東壁懸。等身廿臂延命像。其像乘一身三頭象。其象下無輪及群象。(…)  
普賢延命像并四天王像新奉繪之。<sup>529</sup>

On the East wall a life-sized twenty-armed Enmei image is hung. That image is mounted upon a three-headed elephant. There is no wheel or group (of small) elephants under that elephant. (...) The Fugen Enmei image and the Shitennō images are newly painted.

<sup>525</sup> *Shoson zuzō* (NDL) vol. 2, pp. 12-13. URL: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2574882>

<sup>526</sup> TZ vol. 9: 864-872.

<sup>527</sup> ZGR vol. 26/2: 1-43.

<sup>528</sup> According to the explanatory supplements, the scribes of these occasions are as follows: 1075 – Inson 院尊; 1079, 1083, 1085 – Chōjitsu 長実, Kensen 賢暹, Hōjō 宝浄, Keigon 慶嚴 et al.; 1105 – Engen 円源; 1127, 1133 – Unkan 雲寛. The separately included 1195 ritual was written down by Seien 成円, the 1217 by Shōsei 承性, both monks were engaged during said rituals.

<sup>529</sup> TZ vol. 9: 867-868; ZGR Vol.26/2:8-10.

The problem is highlighted when we examine the other entries of the *Nikki*, especially the last one, where the following is remarked:

中央東障子ニ懸本尊。四臂延命像也。乘三箇ノ急象口懸輪ノ輪下懸五千群象三幅也。此本尊金剛壽院座主始行法之元初本尊移之。<sup>530</sup>

To the middle of the Eastern *shōji* [sliding paper door] the *honzon* is hung. It is a four-armed Enmei image. It is mounted upon three elephants, and (under it) a wheel is hanged, and under the wheel the group of five thousand (small) elephants is hanged, it is three stripes (of cloth). This *honzon* is the copy of the original first *honzon* of the first ritual conducted by Kongōjuin *zasu* [Kakujin].

Apart from the obvious mistake of the four arms (it may well be the misreading of the Chinese character used for ‘twenty’ 「廿」 mistaken for 「四」), the end remark says that it is a direct copy of the apparently still existing first *honzon* used by Kakujin in 1075. The three-headed elephant of the 1080 ritual may be a mistaken inscription of the three elephants, because since the third occasion was also conducted under the guidance of Kakujin, it is highly unlikely that he would use another type of image just five years after the first ritual was performed by him. If it had been altered, then it would have been commented somewhere. In addition, the latter inscription also answers the problem of the missing wheel and elephants, since if those parts of the image were not part of the original image, it would be understandable why they made the *honzon* into three separate images instead of one. This *honzon* type correlates with Chōen’s – ultimately Kōgei’s – description, which differentiate between the two-armed Fugen Enmei image, mounted on a three-headed elephant and a twenty-armed Enmei image, mounted on three or four elephants.<sup>531</sup>

After the death of Kakujin, pioneer *ācārya* of the Fugen Enmei ritual, the *Nikki* tells us that a monk named Ryōshin 良真 (1022-1096, called Ennyūbō *zasu* 円融房座主 in the entries) became the overseeing person of the next two occasions in 1083 and 1084. This is the first time that the *honzon* is called Fugen Enmei mandala, however, almost fifty years passed before – during a ritual held in 1127 – the mandala was started to be associated with Ennin’s Zentōin image. This variability of the *honzon* image types does not seem to reflect any lineage dissimilarities. No matter Ryōshin’s link to Kakujin (they shared two masters,

---

<sup>530</sup> ZGR *ibid.* 36.

<sup>531</sup> T 2408, vol. 75: 894c03 – 10.

namely Myōkai 明快, and – through Kōgei – Chōen), during the next occasion (1083), the *honzons* were completely different:

畫像普賢延命曼荼羅一鋪。五幅。造普賢延命一體。皆金色。<sup>532</sup>  
 Fugen Enmei mandala painting, one spread, five stripes of cloths. Making a  
 Fugen Enmei (statue). All (of these are) golden coloured.

Another entry, the ritual conducted by Kensen 賢遲 (1028-1112) in 1105, would also suggest two *honzons*, however, all three versions are in concord, though they name one twenty-armed *honzon* (佛像廿臂像), then a couple of lines below there is a reference to a two-armed image of a buddha of one *jō* and six *shaku* size (御佛丈六二臂像).<sup>533</sup> And since the first mention also describes the four elephants and the Four Heavenly Guardians standing on the elephants' heads (乘四象。各頭向四方。象頭上立四天王), we are inclined to believe that it was a twenty-armed sculpture, and that the other reference is a misspelling. In the *Kakuzenshō*, where this occasion is also listed, though with a slight change in the date, it says that Kensen performed this ritual together with a monk named Chōkaku 長覺 (d.u.) of the Miidera 三井寺, and a one *jō* six *shaku*s sized statue was made.<sup>534</sup> This entry does not contain any information which would clarify the question of the two or twenty arms, but knowing that all the principal deities were twenty-armed in the Tendai rituals, no special remark would suggest that this image was also of that type.

In the *Monyōki* 門葉記, the ritual accounts of the Shōren'in Taimitsu *monzeki* temple in Kyoto,<sup>535</sup> sixteen rituals are recorded, out of which twelve name their *honzon* as a mandala (all with actual *honzon* descriptions). Almost all of these records tell us about a mandala which is in the form of the one preserved in the Zentōin hall (前唐院本, see Table 4.).

<b><i>Fugen Enmei hō 1. (TZ Vol. 11: 632-635.)</i></b>			
1139	Gyōgen 行玄	Fugen Enmei mandala	Zentōin version
1144	Gyōgen 行玄	Enmei mandala	Zentōin version
<b><i>Fugen Enmei hō 2. (TZ Vol. 11: 635-644.)</i></b>			

<sup>532</sup> TZ vol. 9: 868b24 – 25.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid.* 871b29 – c09.

<sup>534</sup> TZ vol. 5: 103a21-23.

<sup>535</sup> TZ vol. 11: 215-274.

1191	Jien 慈円	Mandala (made by Raishō [Raisei?] 頼成)	Zentōin version
1203	Jien 慈円	Enmei mandala	Zentōin version
1210	Jien 慈円	Mandala (the one used in 1203)	Zentōin version
<b><i>Fugen Enmei hō 3. (TZ Vol. 11: 644-654.)</i></b>			
1223	Ryōkai 良快	Enmei mandala	Zentōin version
1231	Ryōkai 良快	Mandala	Tōin version
<b><i>Fugen Enmei hō 4. (TZ Vol. 11: 654-657.)</i></b>			
1239	Jiken 慈賢	Mandala	Tōin version
<b><i>Fugen Enmei hō 5. (TZ Vol. 11: 657-663.)</i></b>			
1276	Dōgen 道玄	Mandala	-
<b><i>Fugen Enmei hō 6. (TZ Vol. 11: 663-674.)</i></b>			
1305	Jidō 慈道	Enmei mandala	-
<b><i>Fugen Enmei hō 7. (TZ Vol. 11: 674-681.)</i></b>			
1350	Son'en 尊円	Fugen Enmei mandala	Zentōin version
<b><i>Fugen Enmei hō 8. (TZ Vol. 11: 681-689.)</i></b>			
1393	Sondō 尊道	Fugen Enmei mandala (made by Kōen 光円)	Tōin version

Table 4. Fugen Enmei ritual *honzon*s in the *Monyōki*

We see that although most of the times they used that of Ennin's import, but there is also three occasions, when a so-called Tōin version was the chosen *honzon*, which might be indicating an image imported by Enchin.

#### IV.4.6. Enmei Bosatsu Images

Early sources do not distinguish between the Enmei and Fugen Enmei images, therefore we cannot be sure what kind of images they could have been. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when the first detailed description is given by Chōen in his *Shijū jōketsu*, it seems that in the Taimitsu tradition, Enmei bosatsu had twenty arms, and mounted three or six elephants.<sup>536</sup> He goes on to explain that the three elephants are in the *sūtra* explanation, but the six elephants represent the blessings that the Buddha bestows to all sentient beings in the six

<sup>536</sup> 師曰。延命像或乘三象。或乘六象。(T 2408, vol. 76: 894c03.)

realms.<sup>537</sup> The latter remark about six elephants is exclusive to the Taimitsu tradition, and will be handed down at least three generations of disciples, since it is repeated in Jōnen's *Gyōrinshō*, however, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century ritual manual of Shōchō 承澄 (1205-1282), the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄, the images are mixed up, and the Enmei image becomes the henceforth standard two-armed deity without the elephants, holding Vajrasattva's symbols, the *vajra* sceptre and bell. There has not surfaced any depiction of the six elephant portrayals yet, so we should assume that it did not become common and disappeared after the Heian period.

By the 12th century, a quite constant theory is described by the monks. In the *Zuzōshō* (Fig. 87), at the visualisation, the bosatsu is described that his body is golden yellow coloured, he holds a *vajra* and a bell in his two hands, and he is enclosed by the Four Heavenly Guardians.<sup>538</sup>

In the *Besson zakki* the bosatsu is the same, although the halos and the Moon disk are omitted (Fig. 88). Also, the bodhisattva's *samaya* symbol is displayed separately.



Figure 87. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Zuzōshō*, TZ vol. 3, between pp. 22-23.

Figure 88. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Besson zakki*, TZ vol. 3, p. 323.

<sup>537</sup> 三象ト者經所説ノ三頭ノ象身ヲ三ニスル也。(…) 六象ハ表スル六道利生ヲ也 (*Ibid.* 894c04 – 07.)

<sup>538</sup> 身色黄金。右手持金剛杵。左手執金剛鈴。四大天王圍繞。 (TZ vol. 3: 21c27 – 22a01.)



In the *Kakuzenshō*, at the Enmei section, the deity is described in a similar way, but there is no Moon disk, and there is a throne depicted under the lotus flower, on which the bosatsu sits in *hankafuza* pose (Figs. 89-90).<sup>539</sup> This depiction will become standard for the painted Enmei image, as it is displayed in the seven paintings preserved in the Daigoji temple. The other versions are not extant in painted form.



Figure 89. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Kakuzenshō*, DNBZ vol. 55, p. 14.

Figure 90. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Kakuzenshō*, TZ vol. 5, p. 102.

In the *Asabashō* the same image is displayed (Figs. 91-92), however, in the explanation both the two-armed and twenty-armed deities without elephants are described at the ritual sphere visualisation (Jp. *dōjō kan* 道場観) as Enmei, or Fugen Enmei, it seems that Shōchō used the names interchangeably.<sup>540</sup>

<sup>539</sup> TZ vol. 5: 101-102.

<sup>540</sup> TZ vol. 9: 293a02 – 08.



Figure 91. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Asabashō*, DNBZ vol. 53, between pp. 326/327.

Figure 92. Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Asabashō*, TZ vol. 9, between pp. 292-293.

Apart from these drawings there are nine paintings in the Daigoji temple (Plates 47-52).<sup>541</sup> These paintings are well documented, and most of them are dated as well. The first two in the chronological order are the only examples with bodhisattvas standing on lotus flowers, instead of the sitting in the usual *hankafuza*. Both are standing on a small lotus flower, and hold the usual attributes of the two-armed images, in the same manner. There is a flaming head halo behind both bodhisattvas. The colours of their skin (flesh colour) and their garments are also corresponding. It is evident that they were made using the same iconography.

One of them (Plate 46) has an inscription that it was restored in 1416, with the signature of the then Sanpōin monzeki Mansai 満濟 (1378-1435).<sup>542</sup> The other (Plate 47) also has an inscription which talks about a probably re-consecration in 1622.<sup>543</sup> Sawa argues in his study that the new trend of the garments and the facial expressions point to the influence of late Yuan or early Ming Buddhist art.<sup>544</sup> He also argues that they were both made in the Ōei era (1394-1428), when the Sanpōin was under Mansai's leadership.<sup>545</sup> In a document of the

<sup>541</sup> I had the chance to examine these paintings first-hand in August, 2015. Most of them, due to their poor condition, have never been displayed before. I am including their images here with the approval of the Daigoji temple.

<sup>542</sup> 應永廿五年九月六日、令修復奉開眼供養畢 法務満濟 (Ariga – Kawamura 2000: 102.)

<sup>543</sup> 寛永十八年六月廿五日、重開眼供養了、座主覺定 (*Ibid.*)

<sup>544</sup> Sawa 1951: 42.

<sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*

Daigoji archives it is recorded that in 1397, under the Hōon'in 報恩院 Ryūgen's 隆源 (1342-1426) administration, there was a standing two-armed type of the Enmei image. In the *Mon'yōki*, at the descriptions of the inauguration rituals for Emperor Goen'yū (1359-1393, r. 1371-1382) in 1375 we have the description of this image. Therefore it must have been made for that occasion, and it is also recorded that the Sanpōin chief monk, Kōsai 光濟 (1326-1379), the performer of the Enmei ritual (on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month), even gave “paper forms” (Jp. *kamigata* 紙形), namely iconographic drawings for the painter,<sup>546</sup> whom Sawa identifies as Kose no Yukitada 巨勢行忠 (d.u, active in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>547</sup> During the next inauguration Enmei ritual, for Emperor Gokomatsu 後小松天皇 (1377-1433, r. 1382-1412) in 1382 it was Shūjo (Sōjo?) 宗助 (? -1405), chief abbot of the Tōji temple after Kōsai.<sup>548</sup>

The remaining seven images all show almost the same type, which is the classic Vajrasattva iconography. Probably that is why actually we cannot tell them apart. There is only one difference: instead of the *tengai* above the bosatsu, a cloud image appears in some of the depictions. One the paintings was designated as Vajrasattva at an exhibition (Plate 48), held in 1998.<sup>549</sup> The painting is dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which makes this the earliest Enmei image of this type. The bodhisattva, wearing a Five Buddha crown, holds the five-pronged vajra sceptre and the bell, sits in *kekkaфуza*, an a lotus flower, supported by a decorative throne. Above the head halo there is a *tengai*. The only other image with a *tengai* is the 17<sup>th</sup> century painting (Plate 51), in which the bosatsu and his garments are uniformly golden coloured. All the other images (Plates 49, 50, 52, 53) depict the bosatsu as always, but with a white cloud above where the *tengai* used to be.

---

<sup>546</sup> 延命立像也。兩足下各踏蓮華。二臂也。左右鈴杵持之。著寶冠 (...) [光濟]三寶院僧正[延命]各被出紙形 (TZ vol. 11: 889a09 – 11, 14 – 15.)

<sup>547</sup> Sawa 1951: 42-45.

<sup>548</sup> *Daigoji monjo* vol. 10: 240. (document no. 2318.)

<sup>549</sup> *Daigoji ten* 1998: 175-176.

## IV.5. The Twenty-Armed Iconography

The story of the twenty-armed image starts in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, with the founder of the Shingon school. We are informed from all Fugen Enmei related commentaries that it is Vajrabodhi's oral transmission, passed down to Kūkai by Huiguo. The question is, why is it not called Amoghavajra's tradition? One answer might be that this teaching was inherited separately. This oral tradition may be the Adamantine Life-Span Bodhisattva image that is mentioned in Vajrabodhi's biography.<sup>550</sup>

We know almost nothing about the image from the first two centuries after its transmission. The most important source is the *Shishu goma zuzō* text with its ink drawing. Although the earliest extant copy is from 1213 (designated as ICP). The previously examined end note (*okugaki*) and the notes next to the images gives us reason to believe that it is what Chisen obtained from Kūkai, so, until proven otherwise, we will accept that it is a copy of the 9<sup>th</sup> century original. The image type is what would be explained in all later writings, although there is one point that we can assume is a later development: the Four Heavenly Guardians on the top of the elephants' heads. The *Shijū jōketsu* confirms this idea, since the lengthy explanation of the twenty-armed image, including Vajrabodhi's *kuketsu*, does not even once mention the four figures on the heads of the elephants.

The *Nikki* and the *Monyōki* Taimitsu ritual journals tell us that that there were always four separate images of the Shitennō, placed or hung at their respective altars. This may indicate that they felt the need to place the images around the bodhisattva, to accomplish the scripture, where they vow to serve and protect Fugen Enmei. Furthermore, the *Nikki* tells us that even at the very beginning, at the 1075 premier of the ritual, and the next one with the same *ācārya*, they set up separate altars for the four guardian deities (Figs. 93-94),<sup>551</sup> while at the *Kakuzenshō* description of the first Fugen Enmei ritual that was performed by a Shingon monk (1099), the Ninnaji *monzeki* Kakugyō cloistered-prince, there are no separate altars.<sup>552</sup> From the same source, we also get to know that from the very beginning, the Tōmitsu Fugen Enmei ritual *honzon* was a twenty-armed image (尊形 二十臂像), and

---

<sup>550</sup> Chou 1945: 279-280.

<sup>551</sup> TZ vol. 9: 864.

<sup>552</sup> TZ vol. 5: 112b15 – 21.

what is more, it is also exposed here that it was in the style of the Jōganji temple 貞觀寺<sup>553</sup> on Mt. Kōya.<sup>554</sup> The temple was built by Shinga 真雅 (801-879), one of the distinguished disciples of Kūkai himself, who is also in the line of succession of Vajrabodhi's oral traditions, handing us the evidence we need to be certain that Kūkai's imported image was the original *honzon* image used during Shingon Fugen Enmei rituals.

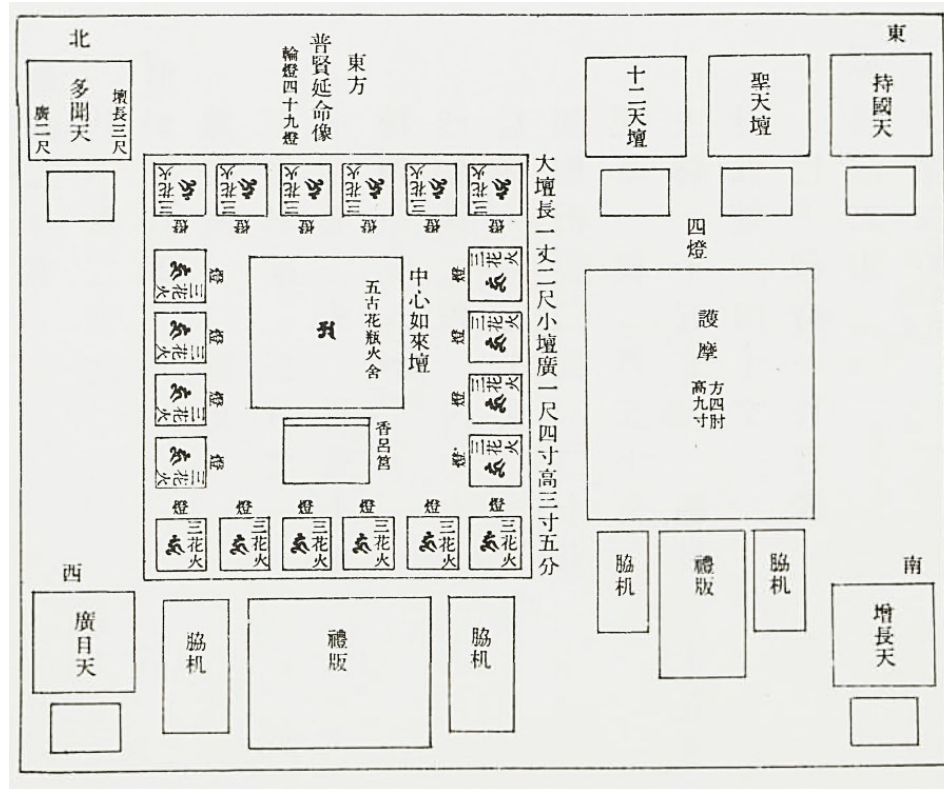


Figure 93. The ritual sphere set-up at Kakujin's initial Fugen Enmei ritual in 1075. From *Asabashō*, TZ vol. 9, p.864.

<sup>553</sup> An earlier designation was the Kajōji saiin 嘉祥寺西院, which was renamed Jōganji in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Jōgan, which is 862. (「貞觀十四年七月廿七日。応以嘉祥寺西院号貞觀寺之状」 *Ruijū sandai kyaku* 類聚三代格 vol. 2: document No. 187.)

<sup>554</sup> TZ vol. 5: 110a24 – 27.



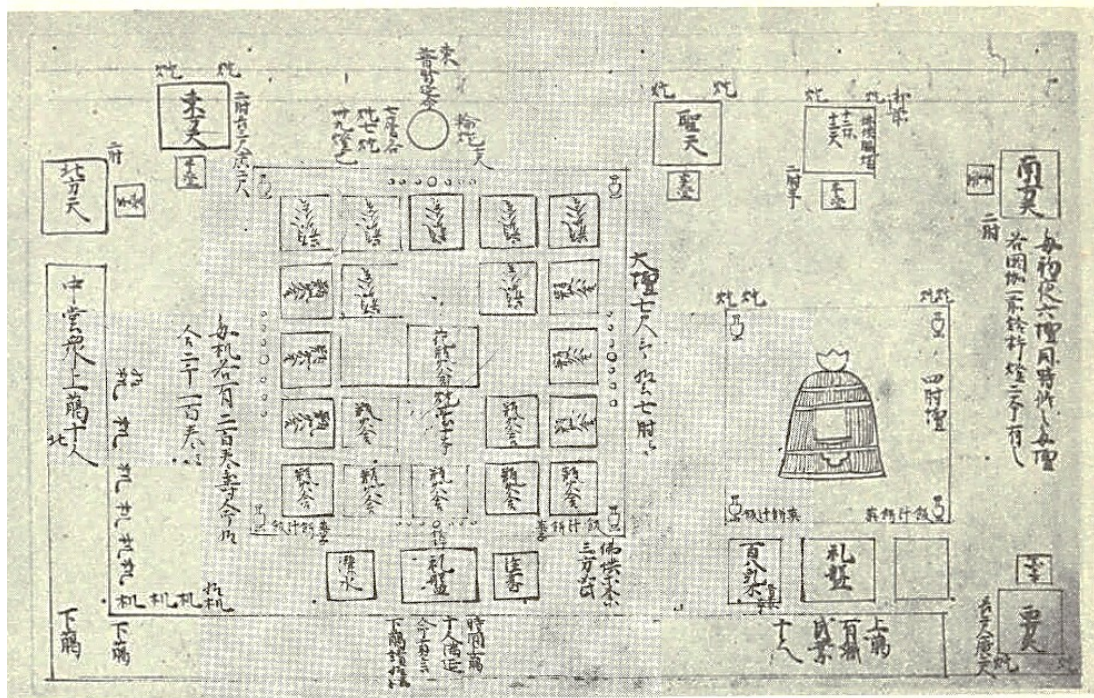


Figure 94. The ritual sphere set-up of the second ritual with Kakujin in 1080. From *Kakuzenshō*, TZ vol. 5, p. 114.

#### IV.5.1. Daianraku Bosatsu and the Attributes of the Twenty Arms

The scriptural basis for the symbols held by the twenty-armed deity is in the fourteenth assembly called *Yoga of the Truth of the Samādhi of the Tathāgatas* (S. *Tathāgatasamayatatva yoga*) in the *Indications of the Goals of the Eighteen Assemblies of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture* (Ch. *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui*, Jp. *Kongōchō kyō yuga jūhatte shiki* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八会指帰), translated by Amoghavajra in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>555</sup> It says,

此經中普賢菩薩十六大菩薩。四攝成一身。<sup>556</sup>

“In this *sūtra* [STTS] Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, the sixteen great bodhisattvas and the Four Gatekeepers become one body”<sup>557</sup>

<sup>555</sup> T 0869, vol. 18: 284-287.

<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.* 287; Giebel 1995: 191.

<sup>557</sup> Translation from Giebel *ibid.*

Giebel says that this assembly is the only one among the eighteen that has not yet been pinpointed in the extant canon.<sup>558</sup> This basically means that the origin of this notion of Fugen becoming one with the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas and the Four Gatekeeper Bodhisattvas has not been found yet by scholars, or that it is now extinct. Giebel goes on with presenting all the commentaries that has been discussing this scripture, and three of them also records Fugen Enmei, as the manifestation of this notion. These three are the *Annotations to the Indications of the Goals of the Eighteen Assemblies* (Jp. *Jūhatte shiki-shō* 十八会指帰鈔)<sup>559</sup> by Raiyu; the *Annotations on the Commentary on the Sūtra of the Adamantine Pinnacle* (Jp. *Kongōchō kyō kaidai shō* 金剛頂經開題鈔, ten fascicles)<sup>560</sup> written by Yūkai 有快 (1345-1416); and the *Private Records to the Sūtra of the Adamantine Pinnacle* (Jp. *Kongōchō daikyōō kyō shiki* 金剛頂大教王經私記, 19 fascicles)<sup>561</sup> by Donjaku 曇寂 (1674-1742).

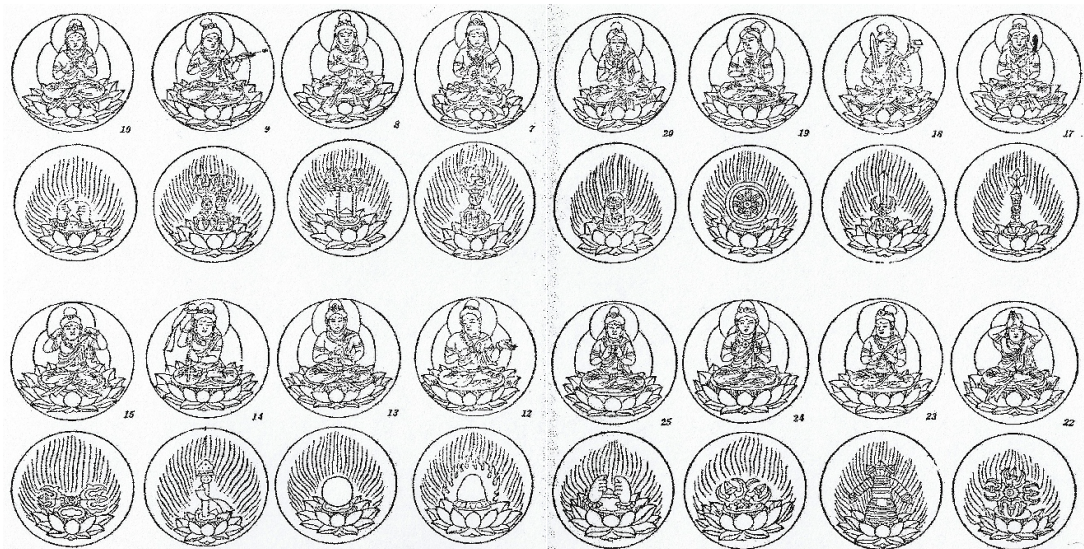


Figure 95. The sixteen great bodhisattvas with their attributes (from Sawa 1975, pp. 356-357)

This one body of Samantabhadra, the Sixteen great bodhisattvas and the Four Guardian bodhisattvas (Giebel calls them Gatekeepers), is depicted as Daianraku bosatsu in the Womb world mandala. Most Shingon and Tendai sources of Fugen Enmei's iconography include the description of Daianraku bosatsu, as the basis of the twenty-armed image. All of those call that Vajrabodhi's oral tradition. Indeed, it is described briefly in the *Hizōki* 秘藏記, the

<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>559</sup> ZSZ vol. 7.

<sup>560</sup> NDK vol. 3: 6-128.

<sup>561</sup> T 2225, vol. 60: 117-371.

collection of oral transmissions introduced in Japan by Kūkai, teachings that he acquired in China from his master, Huiguo.<sup>562</sup>

The *Hizōki* says,

大安樂不空真実菩薩 白肉色寶冠在五佛在[廿]手各持十六四攝三昧 云云<sup>563</sup>  
Bodhisattva of Great Bliss and Not Empty Truth, whitish flesh colour,  
ornamented crown with the Five Buddhas, has twenty arms each holding the  
*samaya* of the sixteen great and the four guardian (bodhisattvas).

Daianraku's image is displayed in the *Henchi in* 遍智院 section above the *Chūdai hachiyō in* 中台八葉院 in the Womb world mandala, therefore his portrayal does not change significantly. The twenty arms and their attributes are also constant, still there emerged two theories for the twenty arms, both include the sixteen great bodhisattvas (Jp. Jūroku daibosatsu 十六大菩薩, Table 5), but the remaining four are explained either as the representations of the Four Guardian bodhisattvas (Jp. Shishō bosatsu 四摂菩薩 or 四攝菩薩, Table 6), or as those of the Four *Pāramitā*<sup>564</sup> bodhisattvas (Jp. Shi haramitsu bosatsu 四波羅蜜菩薩, Table 7). The latter notion is discussed in both major Taimitsu sources, the *Shijū jōketsu* and the *Gyōrinshō*, and in the writings of one Tōmitsu lineage, the Sanpōin. These entries usually tie this *Pāramitā* notion to Vajrabodhi's oral transmission, however, in the *Hizōki* it is clearly stated that the symbols of the twenty arms include those of the Four Guardian bodhisattvas.

This problem can easily be solved, we just have to take a look at the extant Daianraku and twenty-armed Fugen Enmei images. The *samaya* symbols of the the Four *Pāramitā* bodhisattvas (five-pronged *vajra* sceptre, triple flaming jewel, *vajra* with lotus flower, and double action *vajra*) are already comprised within the those of the Sixteen great bodhisattvas, since the *Pāramitā* are the mothers of the four families, hence they are represented by the first bodhisattvas of all four groups. Apart from the varying arrangement, the symbols of the

---

<sup>562</sup> There is another theory that calls this the oral transmissions of Amoghavajra, but ultimately it can be Vajrabodhi's, since Amoghavajra was his disciple after all.

<sup>563</sup> From Zentsūji temple 善通寺 copy of the *Hizōki*. The temple was erected in Kūkai's home village in Kagawa, Shikoku. Digitized by the Koku Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館. (URL: [http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/iview/Frame.jsp?DB\\_ID=G0003917KTM&C\\_CODE=XSE1-02503&IMG\\_SIZE=&PROC\\_TYPE=null&SHOMEI=%E3%80%90%E7%A7%98%E8%94%B5%E8%A8%98%E3%80%91&REQUEST\\_MARK=null&OWNER=null&IMG\\_NO=81](http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/iview/Frame.jsp?DB_ID=G0003917KTM&C_CODE=XSE1-02503&IMG_SIZE=&PROC_TYPE=null&SHOMEI=%E3%80%90%E7%A7%98%E8%94%B5%E8%A8%98%E3%80%91&REQUEST_MARK=null&OWNER=null&IMG_NO=81))

<sup>564</sup> The four female attendants on Vairocana in the Vajradhātu mandala, evolved from him, each of them a 'mother' of one of the four Buddhas of the four quarters. (DCBT 1934: 177.)



Four Guardian bodhisattvas (vajra goad-hook, rope, chain, and bell) are always comprised within the twenty attributes, therefore it is undoubtedly the representation of the these four with the Sixteen great bodhisattvas.

This notion may have originated in the middle *Perfected Body Assembly* (Jp. Jōjinne 成身会)<sup>565</sup> section, of the Adamantine world mandala, where the sixteen great bodhisattvas are depicted with the four *Pāramitās*.<sup>566</sup> They are placed in groups of four according to their buddhas (Fig. 95). These are the five wheels of liberation, each one a lunar disk with one of the four buddhas of the four directions (Jp. *shihō shibutsu* 四方四仏) as the commander of the four bodhisattvas around them.<sup>567</sup> In the middle it is Mahāvairocana, surrounded with the four *Pāramitās*.

Sixteen great bodhisattvas 十六大菩薩			
<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Samaya</i>
Kongōsatta 金剛薩睡	Vajrasattva	adamantine being	five-pronged <i>vajra</i> sceptre
Kongōō 金剛王	Vajrarāja	adamantine king	five-pronged goad-hook
Kongōai 金剛愛	Vajrarāga	adamantine love	arrow
Kongōgi 金剛喜	Vajrasādhō	adamantine joy	<i>mudrā</i> of snapping the fingers
Kongōhō 金剛宝	Vajraratna	adamantine jewel	triple flaming jewel
Kongōkō 金剛光	Vajrateja	adamantine light	Sun disk
Kongōdō 金剛幢	Vajraketu	adamantine pennant	pennant with a <i>cintāmaṇi</i> (wish-fulfilling jewel)
Kongōshō 金剛笑	Vajrahāsa	adamantine laugh	three-pronged <i>vajra</i> sceptre
Kongōhō 金剛法	Vajradharma	adamantine <i>dharma</i>	single-pronged <i>vajra</i> sceptre with lotus flower
Kongōri 金剛利	Vajratīkṣṇa	adamantine sharpness	sword
Kongōin 金剛因	Vajraheto	adamantine cause	eight-spoke wheel
Kongōgo 金剛語	Vajrabhāṣa	adamantine speech	three-pronged <i>vajra</i> and tongue
Kongōgō 金剛業	Vajrakarma	adamantine action	double action <i>vajra</i>
Kongōgo 金剛護	Vajrarakṣa	adamantine protection	three-pronged <i>vajra</i> on armour
Kongōge 金剛牙	Vajrayakṣa	adamantine fang	two sharp fangs
Kongōgen 金剛拳	Vajrasandhi	adamantine fist	<i>mudrā</i> of the adamantine fist

**Table 5. The Sixteen great bodhisattvas and the four gate-keepers (Sawa 1975: 356-357; Snodgrass 1988: 266-267.)**

<sup>565</sup> Snodgrass 1988: 556.

<sup>566</sup> Sawa 1975: 357-358.

<sup>567</sup> Ten Grotenhuis 1999: 40. The four buddhas of the four directions are Akṣobhya (Jp. Ashuku Nyoria 阿閼如来, East), Ratnasambhava (Jp. Hōshō Nyorai 宝生如来, South), Amitābha (Jp. Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来, West), and Amoghasiddhi (Jp. Fukūjōju Nyorai 不空成就如来, North).

Four Guardian bodhisattvas 四摂菩薩			
<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Samaya</i>
Kongōkō 金剛鉤	Vajrāṅkuṣa	adamantine goad	<i>vajra</i> goad-hook
Kongōsaku 金剛索	Vajrapāśa	adamantine noose	<i>vajra</i> noose
Kongōsa 金剛鎖	Vajrasphoṭa	adamantine chain	<i>vajra</i> chain
Kongōrei 金剛鈴	Vajrāveśa	adamantine bell	<i>vajra</i> bell

Table 6. The Four Guardian bodhisattvas (Sawa 1975: 298-299.)

Four Pāramitā bodhisattvas 四波羅蜜菩薩			
<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Samaya</i>
Kongō 金剛	Vajra	adamantine	five-pronged <i>vajra</i> sceptre
Hō 宝	Ratna	jewel	triple flaming jewel
Hō 法	Dharma	doctrine	<i>vajra</i> with lotus flower
Gyō 業	Karma	action	double action <i>vajra</i>

Table 7. The Four Pāramitā bodhisattvas (Sawa 1975: 319.)

The twenty-armed depiction, as it is pointed out over and over again in the commentaries, is not explained in a *sūtra*, it is an oral transmission of the Indian esoteric master, Vajrabodhi.<sup>568</sup> This transmission of Daianraku bosatsu is frequently cited in commentaries, his depictions, however, are seldom represented in iconographic drawings. There are two exceptions that needs to be mentioned here. One of them is the drawing in the *Shikashō zuzō* (Fig. 96), collected probably around the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the other is in an Edo period copy of the *Shoson zuzō* (Fig. 97). Although these copies are centuries apart, the designation, the depiction, along with the explanation, are identical. The twenty-armed bosatsu is depicted with only body and head halos, sitting in on a lotus flower supported by a throne structure that became standard for the two-armed Enmei image in painted icons.

<sup>568</sup> Snodgrass incorrectly says that this twenty-armed image is explained in the Fugen Enmei scripture. (Snodgrass 1988: 267.)

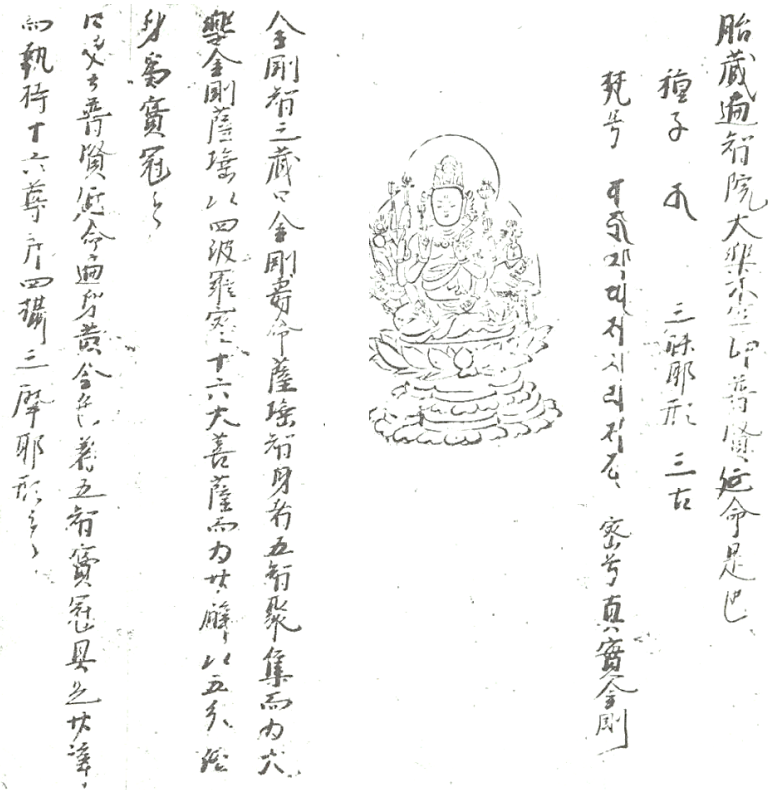


Figure 96. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shikashō zuzō* (Daigoji), TZ vol. 3, p.815.

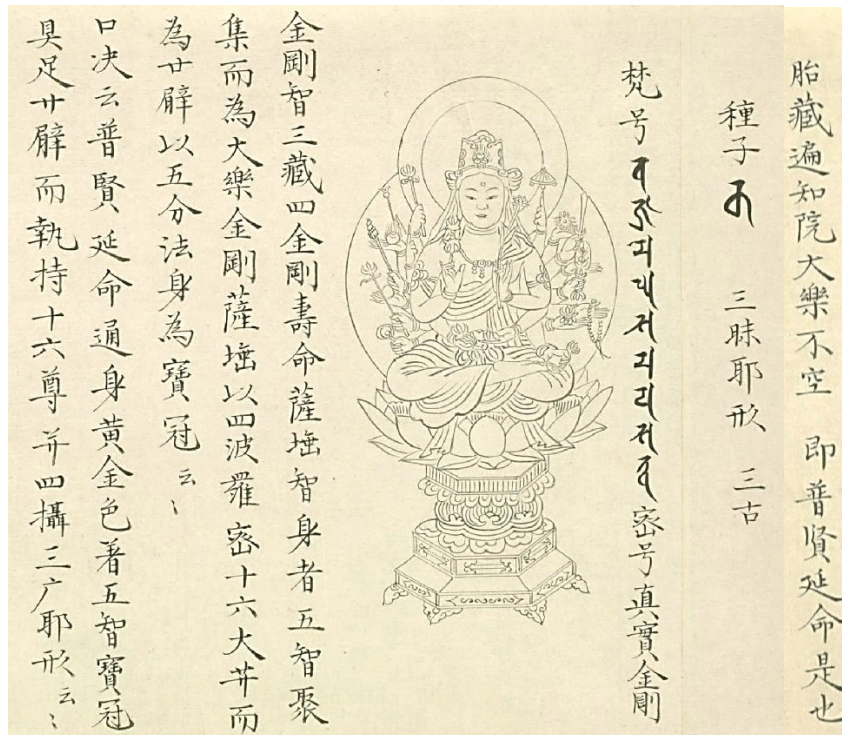


Figure 97. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shoson zuzō* (NDL), vol. 2, pp. 12-13.  
(<http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2574882>)

#### IV.5.2. Basic Types of the Twenty-Armed Image

If iconography needed coherency in form to be identifiable, why did such variations of the Fugen Enmei image come to be? First of all, innovation is just as common in artistic expression as it is in Buddhist thought. Different depictions equal various interpretations of the same deity. This can be explained by the two routes the Fugen Enmei image reached Japan: by the Amoghavajra and the Vajrabodhi tradition. The iconographic drawings and the paintings used during rituals show different heritages of depictions. While the ink drawings of commentaries are somewhat coherent in their characteristics, paintings show radical changes, which are not present in any demonstrative writings. The majority of the paintings and drawings can be divided into three groups (Table 8).

Type	Characteristics	Image
<b>Vajrabodhi's oral transmission</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Twenty-armed bosatsu</li> <li>– Three elephants</li> <li>– No Shitennō</li> </ul>	<i>Shishu goma zuzō</i> drawing
		<i>Besson zakki</i> drawing
		<i>Sho Monju zuzō</i> drawing
<b>Zuzōshō image type</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Twenty-armed bosatsu</li> <li>– Four elephants with harnesses and ornaments</li> <li>– Four Shitennō</li> </ul>	<i>Zuzōshō</i> of Yōgon and Ejū
		Jikōji painting
		Shōchiin painting
		Tōji painting (Muromachi)
		<i>Shoson zuzōshō</i> drawing (NDL)
<b>Daigoji type</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Twenty-armed bosatsu</li> <li>– Four elephants without harnesses and ornaments</li> <li>– Four Shitennō</li> </ul>	Daigoji drawing
		Boston MFA drawing
		Mutō Kinta's drawing
		<i>Kakuzenshō</i> drawing
		Daigoji painting (ICP)
		Tōji painting (Kamakura)
		Enryakuji painting (ICP)
		Jinryūji painting
		Hosomi Foundation painting
		Daigoji painting (Muromachi)
		Philadelphia painting

		Saga painting
		Lost painting (formerly owned by Takahashi Suteroku)
		Daigoji painting (Edo)
		Musée Guimet painting

**Table 8. The twenty-armed image types**

#### **IV.5.3. Vajrabodhi's Oral Transmission**

The earliest iconography is that of Vajrabodhi's, brought to Japan by Kūkai, and used probably by both esoteric traditions during rituals. The original of the *Shishu goma zuzō* of 821, in which the author, Chisen wrote down probably Kūkai's teachings, survives in a copy made in 1213 (ICP), preserved in the Daigoji temple. The twenty-armed deity with flaming body and head halos, is sitting in *hankafuza* on a lotus flower, encircled by a great Moon disk. Under the flower we see three elephants, without harnesses or any decorative apparel, each looking at one of the cardinal directions, therefore one is in full frontal and two are depicted in profiles. Since Vajrabodhi's tradition speaks of four elephants, we can imagine that there is one in the back, but could not have been portrayed in two dimensions. The sculptures have the same iconography, but owing to their three dimensional character, they can be perambulated, and this way the fourth elephant is also visible. However, some monks also interpreted this image as a three-elephant version, which is understandable, for only three elephants are shown. There is a single-pronged *vajra* folded in the trunks of each animal, and all of their feet are stepping on small lotus flowers. Their closed mouths are unique and will not be depicted in any other variations. A rug-like garment is covering their backs, and there is no Shitennō standing on the top of their heads. There are three extant drawings in this group, and no paintings. All extant images in the *Shishu goma zuzō*, the *Besson zakki*, and the *Sho Monju zuzō*, are exactly alike. The first is understandable, the *okugaki* says that it is Chisen's writing (Fig. 98), then we turn to Shinkaku's version (Fig. 99), who spent twelve years on Mt. Kōya, studying under Ken'i, and was also familiar with the main Daigoji lineages as well, could have seen this depiction in either locations. The iconographer behind the compilation of the *Sho Mongju zuzō* is not known, but the three Fugen Enmei depictions indicate someone who was familiar with the Vajrabodhi oral

transmission image (either the Chisen or the Shinkaku one), the Tōji Kanchiin and the *Shoson zuzō* two-armed images. Therefore it had to be someone from the Daigoji, preferably from the lineage of Shinkaku, who had many disciples, in different locations, he visited during his lifetime. The lineage in the *Daigoji monjo*<sup>569</sup> shows three disciples, all of them associated with Mt. Kōya: Shinjun 真俊 (or Gyōshō 行勝, 1130–1217), Ganshō 元性 (1151–1184), and Kenkaku 顯覺 (d.u.); while Manabe quotes the *Jōkiin lineage bloodline* (Jp. *Jōkiin ryū chimyaku* 常喜院流血脈), where another probable Mt. Kōya disciple is named, a monk called Ryūyo 隆誉 (d.u.).<sup>570</sup> But one of his most important disciples must be Shōken 勝賢 (1138–1196), who was initiated into various individual rituals by Shinkaku. Evidence points to his direction in the question of the *Sho Monju zuzō* (Fig. 100). On the one hand, he was the disciple of not just Shinkaku, but his master's, Jitsuun's as well; on the other, he rose to the ranks of chief abbot of the Daigoji, and second abbot of the Tōji temples. And what is more, he was also one of the masters of Kakuzen. Some of his writings survive, such as the *Hishō* 秘鈔, in which he also included the Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals.<sup>571</sup> Although he writes about the twenty-armed image, but it is cited as a deity sitting on top of four elephants.<sup>572</sup> Nonetheless, he must have known about Shinkaku's iconographies. Unfortunately, no paintings are extant with this type of iconography.

---

<sup>569</sup> *Daigoji monjo* vol. 1: 376. (Document nr. 279.)

<sup>570</sup> Manabe 1969: 77.

<sup>571</sup> T 2489, vol.78: 529–530.

<sup>572</sup> 成四大象。以鼻卷獨鉤杵。各具六牙。其象向外方立。(*Ibid.* 530a26 – 28.) 小野僧正所持本ハ四頭象。(*Ibid.* 530c12 – 13.)



Figure 98. Fugen Enmei bosatsu drawing in the *Shishu goma zuzō*. From *Daigoji taikan* vol. 2, p. 108.



Figure 99. Fugen Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Besson zakki*. TZ vol. 3, p. 108.



Figure 100. Fugen Enmei bosatsu drawing. From *Sho Monju zuzō*. TZ vol. 6, p. 101.



#### IV.5.4. First Images with the Shitennō Figures

Next in the chronological order, we have the depiction of the *Zuzōshō* (1139-1140, Figs. 101-103) collections of both Yōgon and Ejū, which may differ in some of their depictions and explanations, but they are alike in depicting the two Fugen Enmei images. It is interesting that until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, neither of the two main traditions, the two-armed and twenty-armed ones, had the depictions of the four guardian deities included. Although the two-armed image changed over the centuries, as we saw above, the twenty-armed image shows the same depiction in various copies of this iconography collection.



Figure 101. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō*, DNBZ vol. 52, p. 253.

Figure 102. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō*, TZ vol. 3, No. 32, between pp. 18/19.





Figure 103. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Zuzōshō: Ishiyamadera shozō Jikkanshō* (1988.)

Figure 104. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Shoson zuzōshō* (NDL), vol. 4.

The bodhisattva is the same as the ones in the previous group, although the halos are not depicted with flames. There is, however, a small throne underneath the lotus flower which is not seen in the earlier images. The four elephants are positioned in a semi-circle way, their mouths are open, and they are wearing ornamented harnesses on their heads and chest. They are also stepping on the lotus flowers a common feature of all twenty-armed drawings. It is interesting that the paramount change lies in the appearance of the Shitennō figures, which stand on top of the heads on small lotus flowers, or rug-like circle platforms. All the *Zuzōshō*, and the Edo period *Shoson zuzōshō* drawings (Fig. 104) belong to this group of images.

As for the paintings, the Jikōji (Plate 1), the Shōchiin (Plate 13), and the Tōji (Plate 33) temples have an example of this iconography, with minor changes in details here and there. For example, in the Jikōji painting the Shitennō stand directly on the elephants' heads, or the animals in the Tōji painting do have the *vajras* in their trunks.

The Jikōji painting (NT)<sup>573</sup> is one of the few unquestionably datable paintings. During the 1967 restoration the year 1153 (Ninpei or Ninpyō 3) was found written on the back side of the silk with black ink.<sup>574</sup> The inscription says:

延命像 仁平三年四月廿一日供養<sup>575</sup>

Enmei image, consecrated on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of the 4<sup>th</sup> month in the year of  
Ninpei (or Ninpyō) 3 [1153]

Because of its designation and the rare opportunity of knowing the date when this painting was made, this is the most discussed and researched painting of all Fugen Enmei images. The earliest study was conducted at the end of the 1960s when it was designated as National Treasure and there was a full restoration and research project. X-ray and ultra-red photos were taken of the painting, and that is when the short ink inscription was first spotted. Since it is on the back of the silk, and not the paper it was mounted on, Professor Ajima suspects that the painting was consecrated in a hurry, before it was mounted on the rear paper, as was the standard procedure for hanging paintings such as this one.<sup>576</sup> It was out of the ordinary, so there had to be a significant reason why they could not wait with completing the painting before using it. Its distinctive features led Yajima Arata to the conclusion that it must have been made for one of the major Shingon temples, since by then it was mostly the temples belonging to the Tōmitsu tradition which used the twenty-armed image as a *honzon* during the Fugen Enmei rituals. He specifically names Mt. Kōya as a possible place where the painting may have been made.<sup>577</sup> He argues that his notion is further verified by the other Fugen Enmei painting there, at the Shōchiin temple, which image does fit all the requirements and resembles the 12<sup>th</sup> century painting, despite some minor alterations.<sup>578</sup> The elephants are almost identical, the structure of the throne and the lotus flower also shows a close resemblance. However, the latter could not have been modelled after the Jikōji painting, since the order and the shape of the symbols in the twenty hands are different, which is highly unlikely in the case of copying.

---

<sup>573</sup> As the other NT painting of Fugen Enmei bosatsu, besides the Matsunoodera painting, it is also a frequent protagonist in esoteric art exhibitions (see Table 1, pp. 28-30.).

<sup>574</sup> Yanagisawa 1969: 493.

<sup>575</sup> *Ibid.* 494.

<sup>576</sup> From a private conversation I had with the professor in June 2016.

<sup>577</sup> Yajima 1987: 20.

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid.*

The Shōchiin painting (Mt. Kōya), dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century is another painting of this type. The bosatsu's usual features are represented again inside the Moon disk. The elephants are more separated from each other, the extreme left and right animals are depicted in profile. The Shitennō figures stand on small rug-like platforms, just like those in the drawings, but unlike the previous drawing. No *dokkoshō* is depicted in their trunks. The colouring of the painting is somewhat different from the usual type, since the harnesses are golden yellow and not red, which correspond with the yellowish colour of the small lotus flowers under the beasts' feet.

An Edo period painting, belonging to this group, is housed in the Tōji temple today.<sup>579</sup> However, this painting represents a transition between this type and the below examined Daigoji type images. The differences are in the throne, and the cloth that is covering the elephants' backs, for it was not part of the drawings of the aforementioned two paintings, though it is a common feature of the images in the following group. In the Jikōji and Shōchiin paintings under the barely visible throne there are lines of outward leaning colourful lotus petals, and the cloth is not depicted at all. In the case of the Tōji painting, the structure of the throne is what can be seen in all Daigoji type images. However, the ornamented head and body harnesses presence ties this image to this group (see more about the Tōji lineage with this painting below).

#### IV.5.5. The Daigoji Image and Its Dissemination

The prototype of the third group can be the Daigoji ink drawing (ICP, Plate 5) and painting (ICP, Plate 8), as the earliest extant examples of this kind, and since all the twenty-armed images show their iconography, I call this group the Daigoji type. It has the largest number of surviving images, therefore this iconography was the most commonly transmitted type with the twenty-armed deity. The bosatsu does not show many difference as those of the previous groups. The halos have flames again. The Moon disk is a common feature, it is only missing from the Boston drawing, which can be regarded as a mistake, but probably not an intentional omission (in any other regard it is the exact copy of the Daigoji drawing).

---

<sup>579</sup> *Tōji no bosatsu zō* 1992: entry nr. 31.

We again see the same smaller throne between the flower and the elephants. In the middle, between the groups of the two outward looking beasts with open mouths, we catch a part of the garment hanging down from underneath the throne structure. The elephants do not have any harnesses, and are stepping on the usual lotus flowers. The Shitennō figures stand directly on their heads. There is no *vajra* folded in their trunk. Most of the drawings and paintings belong to this group (see Table 8).

There are some drawings included in this group, however, these are outnumbered by the paintings. Three single sheet ink drawings of the Daigoji temple, the MFA in Boston, and in the possession of the Mutō family, apart from the *Kakuzenshō* twenty-armed deity depictions (Figs. 105-106) belong to this type. The first three seem to be the exact copies of probably the same original painting. The Daigoji drawing has an inscription which indicates that it is a copy drawn in 1196, of another drawing by Kōnen 興然 (1121-1204) of 1169, who made it after a *honzon* painting.<sup>580</sup>



Figure 105. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Kakuzenshō*, DNBZ vol. 55, p. 19.

Figure 106. Fugen Enmei bosatsu. From *Kakuzenshō*, TZ vol. 5, p. 108.

<sup>580</sup> 普賢延命像(廿)臂像、嘉応元年九月十六日模之、金剛弟子興(然)、／建久九年六月廿四日写之。The author of the entry, Donohashi Akio 百橋明穂, suspects that the different characters for copying indicate that the first copy (模) was made after the original painting, while the other was the copy of the ink drawing (写). (*Daigoji taikan* vol. 2: 53.)



The iconography of the Boston drawing is nearly the same, but the proportions are unbalanced with the missing Moon disk. Also, the suggestions of colours are missing as well. There is an inscription, this time on the back of the paper, which indicates by the name and signature that it is a work by Genshō 玄証 (1146-1204), a famous iconographer of the Kōzanji temple 高山寺<sup>581</sup> in the late Heian period.<sup>582</sup> There is a drawing of a twenty-armed Enmei (Fig. 107) included among thirteen iconographic drawings in a collection called *Shoson zuzō*, preserved in the Daigoji temple today.<sup>583</sup> In the end of the scroll, there are two short notes, which tell us that it was in the Tōanji temple 東安寺 (Daigoji), and it was transmitted by a monk named Jōyo 定誉 (958–1047).<sup>584</sup>



**Figure 107. Twenty-armed Enmei. From *Shoson zuzō*, Daigoji, 13<sup>th</sup> century**

<sup>581</sup> Many works of Genshō survive in the temple today. His art has been studied in the first half of the 20th century, especially by Tobe Ryūkichi 戸部隆吉. One of his articles is about his iconographical drawings generally. He finds him in the same Shingon lineage as Shinkaku, through their mutual master Ken'i 兼意 (Tobe 1920: 61.)

<sup>582</sup> We cannot accept this attribution without doubt until a thorough examination of the paper and drawing style of Genshō, including a comparative analyses with those that survive in the Kōzanji temple, is carried out. We especially cannot in the light of the circumstances of the acquisition. This drawing was purchased by the wealthy American collector, William Sturgis Bigelow (1850-1926), who spent seven years in Japan between 1882 and 1889. Then it was donated by him to the museum in 1911. His collection was formed during an era when Japan was visited by many travellers who sought its treasures. However, for the Japanese Buddhist temples, these were extremely strenuous years because of the new government's anti-Buddhist politics, so they found that they can make money by selling some of their treasures to these mostly ignorant foreigners. And since these were sacred images, Professor Ajima advocates that many of the artworks in foreign collections may be forgeries. The small differences in our drawing are the reason why we cannot

<sup>583</sup> *Daigoji no subete* 2014: 130, 275-276.

<sup>584</sup> 東安所持也 伝領定誉 (*Ibid.* 276.)

The drawing of the Mutō family is included in the *Taishōzō zuzō*,<sup>585</sup> but no information is given, therefore we cannot place the drawing in our timeline. As for its iconography, as I said before, it is the exact copy of the Daigoji drawing.

Among the paintings the Daigoji example (Plate 8) dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century is probably the oldest, therefore we will treat it as a prototype for later painted images. It is usually one of the highlights in every exhibitions of the treasures of Daigoji. There are two other twenty-armed paintings in this temple (Plates 29 and 32), and it is very likely that both were using this image as an archetype. One of them is recorded to be the copy of the Kamakura painting. It is dated to 1413, and has an inscription on the back side,<sup>586</sup> saying that it was restored in a hurry and re-consecrated in 1616 on the occasion of a Fugen Enmei ritual held for the former shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542-1616). Said ritual took place on the 21st day of the 2nd month (1616) in the Seiryūden 清涼殿, a palace which was used as a ritual hall inside the Kyoto imperial palace complex after the 16th century. It was performed by the actual *jugō* monk, the chief abbot of the Sanpōin, Daigoji, and Tōji temples, Gien 義演 (1558-1626).<sup>587</sup> Since it says it was restored in a hurry at the place of the ritual, we can imagine that Ieyasu fell ill suddenly and there was no time to have a new *honzon* made as per usual. It was first Sawa Ryūken, who attributed this painting to Tosa Yukihide 土佐行秀, and since then it is among the very few dated Fugen Enmei images.<sup>588</sup> There are documents in the Daigoji temple, written by Ryūgen 隆源 (1342-1426), that he handed the Enmei image to Yukihide upon his arrival on the mountain.<sup>589</sup> Since he was a monk of the Hōon'in temple, he can only refer to the painting housed there, which is the Kamakura period *honzon* (Plate 8). It seems by this record that they also used the twenty-armed image during

---

<sup>585</sup> TZ vol.12: between pp. 1056/1057.

<sup>586</sup> 前大將軍從一位源朝臣家康公、爲不例祈禱於禁中可令大法參懃旨 (...) 廿一日開白道場清涼殿伴僧廿口、俄修復於當場／開眼供養如例 (Ariga – Kawamura 2000: 99.)

<sup>587</sup> *Dai nihon shiryō* vol. 12, nr. 24: 105-115. It is recorded in many sources (Gien's journal, various documents in the *Sanpōin monjo*, etc.), because it was an important ritual, for a very important person. Tokugawa Ieyasu fell ill, but ritual or not, died two months after this ritual.

<sup>588</sup> Sawa 1951: 45.

<sup>589</sup> 応永廿、二、十六、当絵所行秀登山、仍御本尊延命像渡之 (*Ibid*; *Daigoji monjo* vol. 10: 237-238, document nr. 2317.)

the inauguration Enmei rituals, since the occasion of this *honzon* making was the Enmei ritual of the ascending Emperor Shōkō 称光天皇 (1401-1428, r. 1413-1428).<sup>590</sup>

The last twenty-armed painting of the Daigoji temple is again a copy of probably the same image. By the inscription on its back, it is dated to 1702, when it was made and consecrated for a Fugen Enmei ritual, held for the Sendai daimyō Date Tsunamura 伊達綱村 (1659-1719), a known patron of Buddhist temples.<sup>591</sup>

As was the case in the Daigoji temple twenty-armed images, we know that such a lineage of prototypes and copies can be seen in the Tōji temple as well. The earlier image of the two Kanchiin examples (Plates 9 and 28)<sup>592</sup> may have been made around the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>593</sup> Most of the Daigoji chief abbots (*zasu*) were also appointed to the same post at the Tōji temple (Jp. *Tōji ichi chōja* 東寺一長者). Whenever a high ranking priest was the *ichi chōja* it meant that the appointment to *gojisō* monk was automatic upon an upcoming enthronement *sandan mishuhō*, when the Enmei ritual was performed by the head of the Tōji temple. After these rituals, now and again the monks could keep the *honzon*s, which were otherwise in the imperial treasury, and that is how the Enmei images ended up in the ownership of temples. We know at least one occasion when the Hōon'in *honzon* image was copied for such a ritual, it is not impossible that it was used on more than one occasion as a prototype. This Kanchiin painting is not just identical iconographically, but the manner of portrayal and the style are also close to the Kamakura Daigoji painting. The link between the Kanchiin and the Hōon'in icons is exceptionally evident, although it is hard to determine which was made earlier, in other words, which one was the prototype, and which the reproduction.

---

<sup>590</sup> There is no record about this ritual, but reclining upon an entry in Mansai's journal Sawa thinks that it was on the 1st day of the 6th month in 1413. (Ibid. 46.)

<sup>591</sup> 此普賢延命尊像、依奥州大守綱村中将意願、(...) 本尊令新圖焉、逐開眼供養畢、元禄十五歲次壬午年九月十六日 (...) 寛順 (Ariga – Kawamura 2000: 101.)

<sup>592</sup> According to Yajima Arata's aforementioned article about the Jikōji painting, this painting is no longer in the possession of the Tōji Kanchiin temple. (Yajima 1987: 15, fig. 6.)

<sup>593</sup> The 1934 catalogue of the noted treasures of the Tōji temple only gives the dimensions of the painting, besides a reproduction of it. (*Tōji meihō shū* 1934: entry nr. 27.) The writer of the *Kokka* article from 1941 does not elaborate on the date of making, simply states that it is an outstanding example of old Buddhist painting (古代佛畫). (*Kokka* nr. 614: 380-381.) It is also listed in the 1951 edition of the cultural assets of Kyoto, but date is not given there either. (*Kyōto jūyō bunkazai mokuroku* 1951: 44.)

The other painting, which perhaps was made in the Muromachi period (a catalogue entry insists),<sup>594</sup> but in the final years no doubt, shows almost the same iconography, with slight alterations, like the harnesses on the elephants, or the different cloth covering their backs under the throne structure. The *tengai* is missing, but the symbols are the same, and the proportions of the elements in the paintings are also consistent.

Of the other paintings five can be images made after either the Hōon'in temple prototype, or one of its copies. These are the paintings in the Hosomi Zaidan (Plate 14), the Philadelphia MA (Plate 25), the Jissōin temple (Plate 26), the Musée Guimet (Plate 43), and there was one owned by a lawyer of the Meiji and Shōwa periods, Takahashi Suteroku 高橋捨六 (1862-1918), but went missing sometime after his death in 1918 (Plate 10). The first three and the missing paintings are all dated to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century (late Kamakura – Muromachi periods), while the Guimet painting is an Edo period copy on paper, not silk. All, but the missing Takahashi painting, correspond to the letter to the list of characteristics given above, so the connection is undisputable. Unfortunately, we know little about these paintings.

The Philadelphia version (Plate 25) was originally owned by the Hosomi Zaidan, it was purchased by the museum in 1983 from Hosomi Yoshiyuki 細見良行.<sup>595</sup> It is very similar to the one left in the Hosomi collection, however, the latter is in very poor condition, not much remains of the decorative patterns, or the Shitennō figures. Still, the differences in colouring and decorative patterns are still noticeable. The Philadelphia painting has the head halo of colourful bands like on so many Mahāvairocana images of the *Mandala of the One-Syllable Golden Wheel* (Sk. *Ekākṣaraśaṇḍakakra*, Jp. *Ichiji kinrin mandara* 一字金輪曼荼羅) (Figs. 108-109).

---

<sup>594</sup> *Tōji no bosatsu zō* 1992: entry nr. 31.

<sup>595</sup> Both were featured in the book about Japanese Buddhist art in private collections, by Mochizuki Shinjō 望月信成 in 1973. (*Nihon bukkyō bijutsu hihō* 1973: 9, 89.)





**Figure 108. Mahāvairocana of the Mandala of the One-Syllable Golden Wheel, detail, NNM (Acq. nr. 947-0), 12<sup>th</sup> century**

**Figure 109. Mahāvairocana of the Mandala of the One-Syllable Golden Wheel, detail, TNM (Acq. nr. A10601), 13<sup>th</sup> century**

The same type of halo is present in the Jissōin image, owned by a now Shingon Omuro branch affiliated temple in Saga, Kyūshū, but according to the legend of the temple, it was founded by the Tendai monk Enjin 円尋 (d.u.). We know nothing about the origins of the image. It was designated an ICP by Saga Prefecture, therefore it was featured in the introductory volume of the cultural assets of that prefecture.<sup>596</sup> The author of its entry proposes that by its stylistic characteristics and ornamentation it may have been made around the middle of the country (Kyoto perhaps) in the beginning of the Muromachi period (14<sup>th</sup> century). There is no throne under the lotus flower, and seeing it together with the neck-less elephants, the whole painting looks and feels very compressed.

The former Takahashi painting was featured in the *Kokka* magazine in 1911,<sup>597</sup> before it was auctioned of.<sup>598</sup> Although there is no year indicated in the auction catalogue, it was perhaps after the owner's death in 1918. The painting is almost identical to the Daigoji and

<sup>596</sup> *Saga ken no bunkazai* 1978: 89.

<sup>597</sup> *Kokka* nr. 252: no page number

<sup>598</sup> *Takahashi Suteroku shi iaihin tenran nyūsatsu* 1919?. The year is not indicated, only that it was opened on the 3rd of March. By the title we can assume that it was after Takahashi's death, so 1919, or later. Figure nr. 2 is saying Fugen Enmei and gives the dimensions, but the pictures are mixed up, and we find the Fugen Enmei painting under Figure nr. 6.

Tōji images, however, there is no visible throne between the lotus and the cover on the back of the elephants. The similarities of the tall crown, the symbols, the patterns of the garments, and the arrangement of the Shitennō figures, standing directly on the heads of the elephants, makes this icon the undoubted copy of the same prototype as the aforementioned two. The undetectable hind legs are only missing on this example, which may show the artist's shortcomings, or a special prototype (either drawing or painting) that is not extant today. This painting was also included by Yanagisawa in

The Enryakuji and Boston paintings, although iconographically speaking, are included here, still, stylistically they are closer to the Ninnaji type images. (See examination below.)

#### IV.5.6. Other Variations in the Twenty-Armed Iconography

Most of the images of the twenty-armed bosatsu can be included into one of the above presented five groups, but there are a handful of paintings which show a different kind of iconography, and there are a couple of examples which seem to be completely isolated from all groups. It is interesting that even with the existing iconography manuals there still developed several variations of the twenty-armed image.

One of the major alterations in the remaining paintings are the fusion of two segments of the two- and the twenty-armed bosatsu images, that is to say, the *vajra* wheel with the small elephants (two-armed image feature), and four elephants with (or without) harnesses and the figures of the four guardian deities (twenty-armed feature). Two subgroups can be separated in this type: the ones where the elephants have red harnesses with golden ornaments on them, while the bosatsu is drawn in a great Moon disk; and the ones, which have elephants without any implements, and there is no Moon disk outside the halos (see Table 9).

Type	Characteristics	Image
<b>Ryūjōin type</b>	Four elephants with harnesses Four Shitennō Vajra wheel Small elephants	Ryūjōin painting
		Ryūgeji painting
		Tōji Kanchiin painting

		Enryakuji painting (Edo)
		Enryakuji painting (Edo with <i>tengai</i> )
		Kawana Rakusan painting
		Kogirekai 2015 Auction painting
		Kogirekai 2016 Auction painting
<b>Ninnaji type</b>	No Moon disk Four elephants without harnesses Four Shitennō Vajra wheel Small elephants	Ninnaji painting
		Boston MFA painting (Muromachi?)
		Langen Foundation painting
		Hōfukuji painting
		Entsūji painting
		Chōtokuji painting
<b>Four-Headed Elephant type</b>	Twenty-armed bosatsu Moon disk Four-headed elephant Four Shitennō (Vajra wheel) (Small elephants)	Jōdoji painting
		<i>Butsuzō zui</i> drawing
		London BM painting
		Kogirekai 2016 auction painting

**Table 9. The Ryūjōin, Ninnaji and Butsuzō zui variants of the twenty-armed image**

#### **IV.5.7. The Ryūjōin Type and Its Edo Period Survival**

The images belonging to this type are the ones in the Ryūjōin, Ryūgeji, Tōji Kanchiin, Enryakuji temples, an additional painting in the Tateyama Municipal Museum, and two from recent auction catalogues.

The alterations due to stylistic differences in periods are beside the iconographic coherence, however, there are a few minor modifications in some of the paintings, which can also be owing to regional or periodical differences in style. For example, the Ryūjōin and Kanchiin paintings have a tile patterned background in the lower part of the paintings; or the Kanchiin, and one of the Enryakuji paintings have a *tengai* above the bosatsu's figure. This depiction will become standard by the Edo period. Most of the paintings from the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries show the Ryūjōin type of image, no matter which esoteric tradition the owner temple belongs to.

The Ryūjōin painting (Plate 12)<sup>599</sup> is the earliest among these depictions, therefore I name this type after this image.<sup>600</sup> As pointed out above, it is the first depiction of the twenty-armed image with the wheel and small elephants, a characteristic of the two-armed iconography. The type and style of its elephants and their decorated harnesses will be present in some other paintings as well. The history of this Tendai temple lineage affiliated temple shows that it was originally located in Kakegawa han 掛川藩 (today Kakegawa city in Shizuoka Prefecture), and first it was moved to Azōno 薊野 (now a part of Kōchi city) in 1601 by the founder of the Tosa clan, builder of Kōchi castle, Yamauchi Kazuto 山内一豊 (1546—1605).<sup>601</sup> After, it was moved again in 1651, by a monk named Kaichin 快珍 (d.u.), then again in 1669 to its present-day location.<sup>602</sup> Two of the three *bunkazai* catalogue entries estimates its date of making to be late Kamakura. An inscription from the monk Nissan 日讚 (d.u.) in 1620, on the former box (before the restoration), tell us that this *honzon* was originally in the Ryūjōin in Hitachi province 常陸国, and there is the name Yōgon 永嚴 (d.u.)<sup>603</sup> with his signature, and also it is said that he was the direct disciple of a monk named Yōshun 永舜 (d.u.), of the Saishōōji temple 最勝王寺 of a town called Makabe 真壁 which is in Ibaraki prefecture today.<sup>604</sup>

The image in the Ryūgeji temple (Plate 16) is somewhat unique with its style and proportions. The bosatsu's depiction shows characteristics close to one of the later Boston images (Plate 30), especially the shape of the crown and the arrangement of the symbols. The tall big and small elephants emphasize the verticality of the painting. The elephants' heavily ornamented harnesses have no analogues among the twenty-armed Fugen Enmei images. Also, it is barely visible, but there is a bottom platform under the small elephants, which is decorated with one row of outward leaning lotus petals, which correspond to the big petals of the lotus flower with their golden line patterns. This lotus petal motif under the

---

<sup>599</sup> Designated as ICP in 1968. It is included in many volumes about the cultural assets of Kōchi prefecture. *Kōchi ken no bunkazai* 1969: 97; *Kokuhō-jūyō bunkazai bukkyō bijutsu* vol. 3: 140-141, 219-220; *Kōchi shi no bunkazai* 1992: 26-27.

<sup>600</sup> I examined the painting with Saitō sensei in August 2015.

<sup>601</sup> *Kōchi ken no chimei* 1983: 352. (*Nihon rekishi chimei taikai* vol. 40.)

<sup>602</sup> NRCJ Ryūjōin entry. (URL: <http://japanknowledge.com/psnl/display/?lid=30020400000109800>)

<sup>603</sup> It is not the same Yōgon as the iconographer we talked about previously, but probably Nissan's other name.

<sup>604</sup> *Kokuhō-jūyō bunkazai bukkyō bijutsu* vol. 3: 220.

elephants is also featured in the two-armed type Keishōji (see above), and the twenty-armed type Entsūji and Hōfukuji paintings (see below).

There is another Tōji Kanchiin painting, which is dated to the Muromachi period (15<sup>th</sup> century, Plate 28).<sup>605</sup> It is an interesting image, it shows no body halo, or at least its outlines are not drawn. It shows the head halo style, symbol arrangement and elephants of the Ryūjōin painting. Even the patterned background is present. The verticality is shown by a narrow *tengai* hanging high above the bosatsu.

There are two of this wheel and small elephant type present in the Enryakuji temple (Plates 37 and 38)<sup>606</sup> of the Taimitsu tradition. Although there is an earlier twenty-armed depiction there, it does not resemble these two, made in the Edo period. They both show the same kind of iconography, and not just their colouring and decorating motives differ greatly, but also the order of the symbols in the hands. There is one with a *tengai*, which shows the symbol-order and elephants of the Ryūjōin painting. The other is depicted with the colourful band head halo, which we saw before on the Philadelphia and Jissōin images.

The painting in the Tateyama Municipal Museum 館山市立博物館 in Chiba (Plate 40) is one of the few of which we know the name of the painter and the date of making. It is written on the back lower side of the painting.<sup>607</sup> This painting belongs to the early years of Rakusan's art, when he was living near Tateyama.<sup>608</sup> The background is dark blue, behind the elephants there is a band of patterns, which creates a horizon to the painting, and the lower background looks like a tiled floor. We have seen the same kind of background at the Ryūjōin painting. On the blue surface there are many names written vertically in countless rows. There are names of Buddhas (e.g. Śākyamuni or Amitābha), bodhisattvas (the longevity form of Kṣitigarbha, Jp. Enmei Jizō 延命地藏), and even people (emperors). We cannot know for sure if these names were originally planned or not, however, the inscription left to the *tengai* says that it was mounted in 1877 (Meiji 10).<sup>609</sup> Another interesting feature of this image is the mounting. Outside it is plain grey coloured silk, with a narrow strip of

---

<sup>605</sup> *Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu* 2003: entry nr. 42.

<sup>606</sup> These have not been studied or published anywhere before. I examined the painting with Saitō sensei in June 2016.

<sup>607</sup> I examined the painting in June 2016.

<sup>608</sup> There is a short catalogue raisonné published by the Tateyama Municipal Museum in 1992. It was the result of a four year long research, carried out from 1988 to 1991.

<sup>609</sup> I found this inscription when I examined the painting first-hand.

golden patterns on orange and purple colours. The inner mounting is painted on paper. It is grey, but it is decorated with writings in kanbun, probably the sentences of a Buddhist scripture, which is still unidentified.<sup>610</sup>

#### IV.5.8. The Ninnaji Type All Around the World

A very articulate iconography and style is apparent in all three paintings belonging to the other group with the *vajra* wheel, four big and many small elephants. The depictions are all made around the end of the Kamakura era, and were probably made using the same prototype. Their Five Buddha crowns are especially beautiful in their execution, the elephants all have simple single-pronged *vajras* in their trunks, the eight-spoked wheels show the same geometric pattern. The Ninnaji image, although probably falsely attributed to one of the famous early Tosa painters, Tosa Tsunetaka 土佐経隆 (d.u, active in the 13<sup>th</sup> century), the founder of the famous Tosa school,<sup>611</sup> nonetheless shows an accomplished artist with all the exquisitely elaborated garments and figures.

The probably wrongly dated<sup>612</sup> Boston painting (Plate 23) is another fine example of this iconography type, all the details correspond with the Ninnaji image. The features and details of the bosatsu are also in concord, although the slenderer face and body may indicate a slightly later date for its making, however, it was probably made before the Edo period.

The third painting (Plate 24) in this group is in Germany, owned by the Langen Foundation in Neuss,<sup>613</sup> is probably close to the previous in the date of its making, however,

---

<sup>610</sup> It is not the text of the either of the scriptures which are related to Fugen Enmei. I could not identify the text so far, but it must be somehow in connection with bosatsu, for I have found the inscription *Adamantine life-span dhāraṇī (Kongō jumyō darani)*.

<sup>611</sup> *Yamato e tokubetsu chinretsu mokuroku* 1909: 3. The item is named as, 土佐経隆筆普賢延命像 絹本着色 所傳 一幅 山城葛野都 仁和寺.

<sup>612</sup> In the catalogues and the website it is suggested that it was made during the Edo period, however, the bodhisattva's features, the patterns and ornamentation of the garments, the halos, which gradually change colours all point to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, so I suggest that it was made in the late Kamakura or early Muromachi periods.

<sup>613</sup> *Herbstwind in den Kiefern* 1998: 48-49; *Rangen fusai no me* 1999.

apart from the evident change in colouring, the patterns of the garments, or the lack of *kirikane* shows a simpler style and execution.

This iconography only lived on in the Edo period with some fairly notable changes. The paintings in the Hōfukuji (Plate 35) and the Entsūji (Plate 34) temples are close to this Ninnaji type. If it was not for the Moon disk, the inward curling the lotus petals under the feet of the small elephants, and the tiled background floor, the Hōfukuji painting would be an exact copy of the Kamakura period ones. The Entsūji painting<sup>614</sup> shows more freely interpreted version, where the small elephants are substituted with big, pink coloured, outward leaning lotus petals, which can be seen, for example, in some Aizen myōō paintings, usually under the thrones which carry the lotus flower of the bodhisattva.

I touched upon the unusual Daigoji type Enryakuji (Plate 15) and Boston paintings (Plate 30),<sup>615</sup> which by iconography belong to the line of that type, however, the corresponding characteristics with this group's examples made me reconsider their place. If we were to take away the Moon disk, and supplemented them with the wheel and small elephants, then these paintings would become perfect examples of to the Ninnaji type images. Although I insisted that stylistic elements were not to be discussed much here, in the case of these two icons it is inevitable, or even certified, to point out these similarities, which indicate a mixed type within this group. The arrangement and shape of the twenty symbols provide the last piece of evidence to the placement of these images, which are identical to those of the other paintings of this type. The stylistic likeness also indicate that their prototype was either the same, or very close to that of the Ninnaji painting, or other paintings listed here.

There is one painting, which is a singular type. It can be found in the Chōtokuji temple (Plate 17). The iconography of the image is close to the above introduced fused types, especially the Ninnaji type, when the elephants do not have any kind of harnesses or ornaments, however, the small elephants are missing from underneath the wheel, a great Moon disk is painted around the bosatsu, and also the single-pronged *vajras* are missing

---

<sup>614</sup> *Kōyasan no bosatsu zō* 1995: entry nr. 37.

<sup>615</sup> This painting is probably wrongly dated to the Kamakura period. It is more likely that it was made during the Muromachi period. The facial expressions and features (remote, heavily slanted eyes; slender face, and wide lips) are closer in form to the two standing Enmei images, in which Sawa Ryūken suspected late Yuan or early Ming influences.



from the elephants' trunks. It is dated to the late Kamakura period by the Chiba bunkazai authors, based on the *kirikane* decorating methods and the gradating colours.<sup>616</sup>

#### IV.5.9. The Four-Headed Elephant Type Images

The evolution of pictorial expression can be best seen with the appearance of a new version of the twenty-armed depiction, entering the Buddhist iconography scene during Edo period (18<sup>th</sup> century). This can be seen as the fusion of the two main types, when the bodhisattva has twenty arms, and the throne he is sitting on is supported by a one-bodied and four-headed white elephant, which is standing on a vajra wheel.

The iconographic depiction of the iconography is found in the second, enlarged edition of the *Butsuzō Zui* 仏像図彙 by Tosa Hidenobu 土佐秀信 (Fig. 110).<sup>617</sup> It is a major compendium of Buddhist images, collected by the deity types, buddhas, bodhisattvas, heavenly beings, but altogether there are more than eighty categories by function and attributes. It was first published in 1690 (Genroku 元禄 3), but this edition contains no image of Fugen Enmei at all.<sup>618</sup> The revised 1783 edition, though, encompasses only this new, mixed iconography, like it was the common depiction of the bodhisattva.<sup>619</sup> It seems that it is not the only innovative result of Hidenobu's contribution.<sup>620</sup> We do not know where he would have seen this image, but after this edition, the exact same type appears in more than one image: three paintings (see Table 9) and one *zushi* statue (introduced below with the statues). All of them are dated to the Edo period. Although the type is named after the *zuzō*, there is one difference between the Hidenobu drawing and the extant paintings: on the

---

<sup>616</sup> Chiba ken no bunkazai 1990: 75.

<sup>617</sup> Its full title is *Enlarged Edition Encompassing Various Sects of the Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images* (Jp. *Zōho shoshū butsuzō zui* 増補諸宗仏像図彙). The reprint of the Ehime Library, dated 1796, is digitized and available online. (URL: <http://www.lib.ehime-u.ac.jp/SUZUKA/316/index.html>.) Another annotated edition of the 1886 Edo reprint is also available in Japanese language: Itō Takemi 伊藤武美 2010.

<sup>618</sup> *Kinmō butsuzō shūsei* vol. 14: 11-13. There is no Fugen Enmei listed in the contents.

<sup>619</sup> This edition was recently studied and published in English. See Khanna 2010.

<sup>620</sup> Patricia J. Graham writes about the seven gods of fortune, whose new assembly is first depicted in this edition. (Graham 2005: 110.)

drawing there are small lotuses under the elephant's feet, but on the paintings it is the vajra wheel, and the small elephants (with the exception of the BM painting).



Figure 110. Fugen Enmei drawing in Tosa Hidenobu's *Butsuzō zui*. From *Kinmō butsuzō shūsei* vol. 14, p. 312.

The Jōdoji image (Plate 31), with the vajra wheel, small elephants, and a *tengai* above the bosatsu, shows the common sign of usage, the murky discoloration probably caused by incense smoke. It means that it was perhaps repeatedly used as a *honzon* during rituals. This and its stylistic characteristics, the bodhisattva's features and golden garments on his golden coloured body suggests an earlier date of making than the supposed Edo period. The lotus petals with the flaming jewels and the elephant's harnesses are similar to those of one of the Enryakuji Edo period twenty-armed image (Plate 38). Nevertheless, the plainer and unornamented surfaces (garments, lotus petals, halos) are not standard in Edo period paintings of Enmei or Fugen Enmei, and the bodhisattva's face, the symbols in his hands, and the golden coloured and outlined cloths, which are common for the Kamakura paintings of deities, such as Amitābha and the various forms of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva (Fig. 111),

show that it was perhaps closer to the Muromachi period than the Edo. I believe that it was made before the Edo period, therefore it is may be older than the *Butsuzō zui* drawing, and suggesting that there were these kind of images before the Edo period. It has only been featured in one exhibition catalogue, to my knowledge.<sup>621</sup>



**Figure 111. Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara painting, NNM (Acq.no.: 1337-0), 14<sup>th</sup> century**

Otherwise, it is very much likely that such an image existed before the Edo period, since one treatise, the *Atsuzōshi* 厚造紙, commentary of the Shingon monk, Genkai 元海 (1094-1157), do mention a four-headed elephant which is supposed to be the Tendai *honzon*:

天台本乘一身四頭之象<sup>622</sup>

*The Tendai image rides on an elephant of one body and four heads.*

It is not entirely impossible, though, that this reference is just inaccurate, since almost the same is remarked by Shōken 勝賢 (1138-1196), whose master, Jitsuun, was the disciple of Genkai. In Shōken's *kuketsu*, the *Hishō* 秘鈔, compiled by his disciple, the cloistered-

<sup>621</sup> *Onomichi Jōdoji no jihō ten* 2015: entry nr. 99.

<sup>622</sup> T 2483, vol.78: 262b01.

prince Shukaku 守覺法親王 (1150-1202), it is said that the Sanpōin tradition (Jōkai – Genkai – Jitsuun – Shōken) the three-headed elephant is the Tendai version.<sup>623</sup>

The London BM painting (Plate 41) is an interesting work of art, since it is painted with golden colour on blue paint (Jp. *konshi kindei* 紺紙金泥). It was common in the Heian period to paint sūtras and their depictions in this style. This style is still used for Buddhist paintings today, and was throughout the Edo period. There are plenty examples of these images in Japan. One of the most famous is the Takao mandala of the Jingoji temple, cited above, which is believed to be the faithful copy of the mandalas Kūkai brought to Japan from China. In the sources it is usually *sūtras*, especially the Lotus, Flower garland, and Amitābha scriptures which were copied in this style. One of the most famous of these scriptures with illustrations is the 1125 copy of the *Complete Set of Buddhist Scriptures* (Ch. *Yiqie jing*, Jp. *Issai kyō* 一切經) in the Chūsonji temple (Fig. 112). During the Kamakura period many individual Amitābha paintings were painted like this, in which the golden rays on the dark background relates accordingly to the figure of *infinite light* (=Amitābha). The bodhisattva is the same as the previous examples, but the small elephants are omitted under the vajra wheel.



Figure 112. Detail from the *Issai kyō*, Chūsonji, 12<sup>th</sup> century (NT)

<sup>623</sup> 三寶院云。天台ノ本ハ一身三頭象。(T 2489, vol. 78: 530c12.)

There was another painting in the 2016 auctions of the Kogirekai (Plate 44), which fits the description of this type. It has an inscription on the back, which marks the consecration date as 1815.<sup>624</sup> The pristine condition shows that it was seldom – if ever – used during a ritual.

From the point of view of the iconography, all three paintings show the exactly same pattern: the bodhisattvas' attributes, the elephants' heads and ornaments, all indicate the same basic image type, that of Hidenobu's *Butsuzō zui*. The differences in the editions can serve as evidence for two things. It can mean that this image type developed sometime between the two, or even that it was the invention of Hidenobu himself.

#### IV.5.10. The Iconography of Statues

All extant statues have twenty arms, and no two-armed image is extant, as far as we know. As my research advanced it gradually became clear that while in the case of paintings and drawings there were detectable alterations in the iconography, oddly enough, all statues showed the same type of image. All known Fugen Enmei statues have twenty arms and their lotus thrones are supported by four elephants. Also, in general the Buddhist statues suffered damages in the course of history, during the many centuries, fires destroyed temples and their treasures countless times, and most of the sculptures were mended in the Edo period. As a result, the statues were given new halos and thrones, and missing hands symbols, jewellery were replaced, which makes it difficult to date these icons. What's worse, it makes it almost impossible to identify some icons. Even the earliest, dated extant icon of the Taisanji temple 大山寺 (Plate 54) is dubious, since it has only sixteen hands, and it is not

---

<sup>624</sup> *Kogirekai catalogue* 2016: item B-061. The inscription: 奉開眼 (...) 文化乙亥首夏吉祥日眞樂寺比丘法月欽書. 文化乙亥 is the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the Bunka 文化 era, which is 1815 in the Gregorian calendar. We also get to know from this inscription that this consecration probably took place at the Shinrakuji temple 眞樂寺 since the writer of the text is a monk called Hōgatsu 法月 (d.u.), a *bhikṣu* of that temple. This Shinrakuji is probably the one in Nagano prefecture, affiliated with the Chizan branch 智山派 of the Tōmitsu tradition, which has a Samantabhadra image as their principal deity, and also, it functions as a temple where people can pray for long life.

indicated on the bosatsu's torso that there may have been more originally. Usually it is only the body of the bodhisattva which is original, and everything else is Edo period replacement. Therefore, we really cannot discuss any kind of iconographic line in the case of statues.

We know of some rituals where a carved image was used, for example at the Fugen Enmei ritual in 1083 (造普賢延命一體).<sup>625</sup> The origin of the twenty armed statues seems to be the same as the paintings, namely the iconography imported by Kūkai. If we compare the drawing and the statues we can see how the elephants were interpreted from the drawn image, for some though has four elephants, only three is visible, the fourth is behind the bosatsu. In the case of carved icons, the elephants can be placed facing four directions, like the Ryūdenji (Plate 60) or the Gumiet sculptures (Plate 63); or standing side by side, like the Taisanji or the Guimet *zushi* sculptures (Plate 67).

Only a handful of the statues have been researched so far. The Taisanji statue as the oldest representation of the bodhisattva is discussed in many books about Kyūshū Buddhist art.<sup>626</sup> Apart from the Taisanji icon there is one short study about the at Ryūdenji temple 龍田寺.<sup>627</sup> The Taisanji icon was designated as ICP, mainly because the body of the bodhisattva was probably made during the early or mid-Heian periods.

The tragically lost icons of the Kongōbuji temple<sup>628</sup> also comprised a Fugen Enmei sculpture (Plate), which was supposedly made in the lifetime of Kūkai.<sup>629</sup> This theory was received with doubt among scholars, and after it was lost, a debate formed, where recent arguments rather place the carving of some statues to early 11<sup>th</sup> century, after another fire occurred in 994, caused by a lightning.<sup>630</sup>

Only the three small statues (two of them in *zushi* lacquered boxes) show different types of iconographies: in the case of the Budapest (Plate 66) and Munich (Plate 68) statues,

---

<sup>625</sup> TZ vol. 9: 868b24 – 25.

<sup>626</sup> Iwao 1974: 50-52.

<sup>627</sup> Jōjima 1954: 104-106.

<sup>628</sup> There was a great fire on the night of Emperor Taishō's 大正天皇 (1879-1926, r. 1912-1926), 25th December 1926, in which the whole temple building with all its treasures were lost.

<sup>629</sup> This notion was questioned even when the sculptures still existed. *Kokka* nr. 370 (1921): 305. There was also a brief article separately published in the next year, where the writer points out that it does not show the usual characteristics of the Jōgan period (859-877) sculptures, to which period the six statues were dated beforehand. *Kokka* nr. 391 (1922): 195.

<sup>630</sup> Bogel 2010: 250-251.

the bosatsu is mounted on a four-headed elephant, the Paris example shows four elephants standing side by side. These sculptures represent the unceasing presence of the Fugen Enmei image. Since Fugen Enmei was generally used as a *honzon* of a major ritual, it is very surprising to see his image in travelling altars. Could this mean that in the Edo period he was also present as a household deity?



## V. The Rituals

From brief records to multiple pages long ritual descriptions plenty of sources survive to testify to the long standing history of the Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals in Japan.<sup>631</sup> These demonstrate the aristocrats' striking proneness to the usage of esoteric ceremonies whenever they were in need of curing an illness, wishing for good fortune, or safe delivery, etc. The esoteric schools basically served all the Fujiwara's and imperial family members' daily needs, especially in the Heian- and Kamakura-periods.

This royal and aristocratic patronage secured the existence of many esoteric rituals, among them the Fugen Enmei ritual, even though the origins are more obscure than those of the scriptures. At first glance, there is no indication that this ritual was ever performed in China. As we have seen above, the Fugen Enmei scripture does not contain ritualistic features, only the *Jumyō kyō* texts. The texts had already reached Japan a hundred year earlier, but in the 8<sup>th</sup> century there was hardly any mature or systematised esoteric rituals being performed. Even in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, we have only one record of a ritual, while other surviving accounts only substantiates the chanting of the Enmei mantra and the reading of the *Kongō jumyō kyō*.

The main goals of the dissertation requires some clarification regarding the ritual that the image played such a big part in, however, it is not the one of the goals to give a full understanding of the rituals. It is not essential right now to translate all sources about the rituals, not just because of the limitations of space, but also considering that it is not essential for the examination of the images. Nevertheless, it would be highly useful to see a complete translation of all Fugen Enmei hō related accounts, which would help a better understanding of the similarities and differences of the Tōmitsu and Taimitsu traditions.

From the ritual records we can also pick up that the authors and compilers of the previously examined commentaries and iconography compilations were actively performing the Enmei or Fugen Enmei consecrations and rituals. Kanjo repeatedly consecrated images and performed rituals in the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A record from 1133 says that at

---

<sup>631</sup> There is also a ritual called Jumyō kyō hō 寿命経法, although except from a scarce amount of sources, it is not prevalent in any esoteric branches, therefore I am only briefly mentioning it when needed.

the Shirakawa Oshikoji palace 白河押小路殿 Yōgon performed a Fugen Enmeihō, and consecrated various images and *sūtras*.<sup>632</sup>

## V.1. Enmei, Fugen Enmei, Nyohō Enmei, and Jумыō kyō Rituals

As for their role, both the Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals are performed for the prolongation of the life-span. In this function, these two are regarded as one and the same by the monks, the scholars, and the Buddhist dictionaries as well. Nonetheless, they are generally distinguished today by the number of ritual spheres (or altars) and assistant monks (Jp. *bansō* 伴僧) during those rituals: the Enmei one is a common (Jp. *futsūhō* 普通法) or minor ritual (Jp. *shōhō* 小法), but the Fugen Enmei one is designated as one of the major rituals (Jp. *daihō* 大法).<sup>633</sup> The *honzon* of the previous is Enmei bosatsu, in other words, a two-armed Vajrasattva, as the *Mochizuki* tells us:

*There is actually two kinds to this ritual: one is simply called Enmei hō, it is one of the six kinds of rituals (Jp. roku shu hō 六種法). It is performed as a common ritual, with Enmei deity, in other words, a two-armed Vajrasattva, as its honzon. The other one is called Fugen Enmei hō, and it is performed as a major ritual. In this case, the honzon is a twenty-armed Fugen Enmei deity, the altars of the Shitennō is set up separately, forty-nine lamp are lit, skeletal grass is used at the homa altar, and twenty assistant monks are necessary.*<sup>634</sup>

The *Mochizuki* also tell us that there are other variations of the rituals, such as the Nyohō Enmei hō 如法延命法,<sup>635</sup> which is the *absolute secret* version of the Fugen Enmei hō. <sup>636</sup> Kakuzen attests to this in his section on Enmei, when he writes that the Fugen Enmei hō is called the Jумыō kyō hō 寿命経法 by the Shingon monk Genkaku 賢覚 (1080-

---

<sup>632</sup> *Shirakawa tennō jitsuroku* 白河天皇実録, Vol. 3 第三卷, Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku 天皇皇族実録 35, edited by Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治 and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡眞之, Tokyo, Yumani shobō, 2007, p.1241.

<sup>633</sup> According to the BGDJ the minor ritual is the term for a ritual where there are only a few altars (ritual spheres) and assistant monks. A major ritual is performed with at least four altars.

<sup>634</sup> MBDJ vol. 1: 323.

<sup>635</sup> *Nyohō* means 'according to the Law.' (DCBT 1934: 211)

<sup>636</sup> *Ibid.*

1156), and Nyohō Enmei hō by the Tendai tradition.<sup>637</sup> There are some examples for this designation in sources, for example, in 1096 and 1098, the Tendai monk Ninkaku 仁覺 (1045–1102) conducted this ritual among others, with twenty assistant monks; in 1102 and 1105 it was Kensen 賢選 (d.u.), another Tendai monk performing this secret version of the Enmeihō.<sup>638</sup> All of the available records are naming not just Tendai monks, but specifically those of the Hosshōji temple 法性寺, who sooner or later became Tendai abbot (*zasu*). In the *Mitsumon zasshō* 密門雜抄,<sup>639</sup> a treatise of Echō 慧澄 (1780-1862, his other name was Chikū 痴[癡]空) from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, lists the Nyohō Enmei hō as one of the Tendai major rituals, besides the other three (Shichibutsu Yakushi hō 七仏薬師法, Chinshō yasha hō 鎮将夜叉法, and the Dai shijōkō hō 大熾盛光法). This may point to the fact that the Fugen Enmei hō was probably the same, or regarded as the same as the Nyohō Enmei hō, the names may even be – or was at one point – interchangeable. In the Asabashō there is a description of some rituals in the *Nyohō Enmei nikki* 如法延命日記 (Fascicle 221).<sup>640</sup> According to this, it does not differ from the Fugen Enmei ritual: there is one ācārya, twenty assistant monks, four ritual spheres, a Fugen Enmei mandala is used as the honzon.

The *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辞典 (cited hereafter as MDJ) tells the Enmei and Fugen Enmei two rituals apart by their *honzon*, Enmei bosatsu for the Enmei, Fugen Enmei bosatsu for the Fugen Enmei ritual.<sup>641</sup> As most sources and dictionaries of esoteric Buddhism, the MDJ also considers the two rituals to be the essentially the same, however, it says that when it is called Enmei hō, the *honzon* is a two-armed image, and when it is called Fugen Enmei hō, then it has the twenty-armed image as its principal image.<sup>642</sup>

There is at least one great difference between these two rituals, namely that when performing the latter the assistant priests read the *Jumyō kyō*, Vajrabodhi's translation, but

---

<sup>637</sup> TZ vol. 5: 103a3.

<sup>638</sup> See for instance the *Chūyūki* 中右記 (vol. 3: 14, vol. 4: 222), the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141); or the *Fugen Enmeihō nikki* 普賢延命法日記, ZGR vol. 26/1.

<sup>639</sup> There are two copies available, one at the National Diet Library 国立国会図書館, and one in the library of the Bukkyō University 仏教大学.

<sup>640</sup> TZ vol. 9: 873-879.

<sup>641</sup> MDJ vol. 1: 173.

<sup>642</sup> *Ibid.*

not in the case of the former.<sup>643</sup> Ueda Reijō sums up that all three, the Enmei, Fugen Enmei and Jumyō kyō rituals, are to pray for benefits and long life-span (増益 and 延命/延寿), and he distinguishes three lesser difference:

1. as mentioned before, the performing of the Enmei hō does not include *sūtra*-reading, the other two do;
2. the Fugen Enmei hō is a major ritual, the other two are designated only as small scale ceremonies;
3. the *honzon* of the Enmei hō is the two-armed Enmei bosatsu, that of the Fugen Enmei hō is the twenty-armed Fugen Enmei bosatsu, while the *honzon* of the Jumyō kyō hō can be a two- or a twenty-armed Fugen Enmei bosatsu.<sup>644</sup>

Additionally, other sources list some minor differences in the ritual implements used or the number of assistant monks, etc. In the *Hishō mondō* the following is written:

延命普賢於本身聊雖有薩埵普賢差別。是則同體也。延命二臂表普賢。延命二十臂初後也。法同法也。且讀經有無。伴僧等多少差別也。<sup>645</sup>

Even though, Enmei and Fugen are the (same) being in their original body and (they are) the variants of Fugen, they are thus the same body. The two arms of Enmei represent the first and last (arms) of the twenty arms of Fugen Enmei. The rituals are the same rituals. Their temporary differences are whether there is a *sūtra* reading or there are few or many assistant monks, etc.

### V.1.1. The Rituals in the Japanese esoteric Scene

Before the comparison and analysis of the sources let us see when and where the rituals began. If we were to trust the accounts of the *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀, then we have the date of the first Enmei ritual performed in Japan. According to an extremely short record in volume twenty, there was an Enmei hō performed at the Bonshakuji temple 梵釈寺 in 850.<sup>646</sup> This no longer existing temple was established by Emperor Kanmu in 786 in the

---

<sup>643</sup> Ueda 1989: 496-497. Ueda names as one of the sources as the *Fugen Enmeihō jōryūshō kudentō* 普賢延命法祥流鈔口伝等, written by founder of the new Anjōji branch (Jp. Shin Anjōju ryū 新安祥寺流), Jōgon 浄嚴 (1639–1702), a Shingon monk of the Edo period.

<sup>644</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>645</sup> T 2536, vol. 79: 433a06 – 09.

<sup>646</sup> *Shoku Nihon kōki* vol. 20. 「縁梵釋寺修延命法故也」

URL: <http://www.j-texts.com/chuko/shokukouki20.html>

Shiga district 滋賀郡 of Ōmi province 近江国 (today Ōtsu city in Shiga prefecture). Between 850 and 950, however, no other records survive of such rituals. Nevertheless, from 950 we have numerous sources telling us that the Enmei hō was performed repeatedly, especially during the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century. The first in the line was recorded in the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, found in the *Kyūreki* 九曆, the diary of Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (909-960), a famous statesman who rose to the rank of *dainagon* (major counsellor) and *udaijin* (minister of the right).<sup>647</sup>

(天曆 4 年 8 月) 8 日、天台律師明達、奉爲東宮、令修延命法、伴僧十口、爲消除夢相物恠也<sup>648</sup>

On the 8<sup>th</sup> day (of the 8<sup>th</sup> month in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Tenryaku [950]), the Tendai *vinaya* master Myōtatsu 明達 [877-955], was commanded to perform an Enmeihō, for his majesty the Crown Prince, with ten assistant monks, in order to remove the ominous things from (his majesty's) dream<sup>649</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no discussion whatsoever of the ritual spheres or the *honzon* they used during the ritual, so we cannot tell for sure what kind of ritual it was. Based on what little information we get from these early references, especially the number of assistant monks, it can be assessed that these were probably different from the later, but much more complex Fugen Enmei or Nyohō Enmei rituals.

The initial allusion to the ritual called Fugen Enmei hō is recorded in 1075, more than two hundred years after the arrival of the bodhisattva. If we take a look at the comprehensive chronological tables of the Shingon (Jp. *Shingon shū nenpyō* 真言宗年表, cited hereafter as SSN) and Tendai (Jp. *Nihon Tendai shū nenpyō* 日本天台宗年表, cited hereafter as NTSN) schools, we will see that the first Fugen Enmei ritual was performed in 1075 in the Tendai,<sup>650</sup> and in 1099 in the Shingon setting.<sup>651</sup>

As for the origins of the Fugen Enmei ritual, it is hard to determine. The late entry on the Japanese esoteric Buddhist stage, the variations in the title of the prayer, or the number

---

<sup>647</sup> The diary covers about thirty years of the Morosuke's life. The first entry is made in 930. The last is from the year he died, in 960.

<sup>648</sup> DNKK vol. 1: 206.

<sup>649</sup> In 944 Morosuke was appointed as the high steward of the Crown Prince (Jp. *tōgū daibu* 東宮[春宮]大夫), that is why he must have recorded this event in his diary.

<sup>650</sup> NTSN 1973: 59.

<sup>651</sup> SSN 1973: 143.

of days it was performed makes the origins of this rite highly obscure. Uekawa Michio 上川通夫 epitomizes three ways of how a ritual could have appeared in Japan: by means of import, by surfacing many years after the import, and by Japanese production.<sup>652</sup> He mentions these in his study of the origins of the Nyohō sonshō hō, another ritual where the Fugen Enmei image would be used (for further details see below). He suspects that ritual was produced in Japan. When he states his case we find many corresponding facts, such as the ones listed above, which also points to the third case of appearance. However, this can only be true to the Fugen Enmei ritual, which first appears in the sources in 1075. Before that there are several accounts of an Enmei ritual, although no descriptions survive, so we cannot know for sure what kind of ritual it was. But the fact remains that the complex ritualistic system of the Fugen Enmei hō or Nyohō Enmei hō, recorded in the *Kakuzenshō* or *Asabashō*, definitely developed later, around the same time that some similar rites appeared for the first time as well.

### V.1.2. Function, Prevalence and Circumstances

It is noticeable, that the majority of the sources concerning Fugen Enmei is about one of the rituals. Apart from the many longer ritual journals (*nikki*), we find a lot of shorter inscription, stating the date, time, and place; the cause, the name or rank of the people benefitting from the prayer; the name of the leading *ācārya*, or the number of assistant monks. By means of these factors, we could clarify the following matters:

- 1) the date depends on the cause (whenever the prayer is needed);
- 2) the time varies and the length of the prayers also differ (one to twenty-one days);
- 3) the places are either one of the palaces or temples of the Heian capital (Kyoto);
- 4) all of the above rituals were performed when a high ranking person was indisposed, sick, or giving birth;
- 5) the leading monk is very high-ranking in the religious hierarchy, on many occasions a head of a temple or a tradition (*zasu*);
- 6) the number of assistant monks also vary slightly (on most occasions there are twenty);

---

<sup>652</sup> Uekawa 2008: 76.

Most of these information can be found in various kinds of sources. Beside the comprehensive ritual journals, I have gathered materials from the diaries of high-ranking officials (mostly of the Fujiwara- or Kujō-families),<sup>653</sup> journals and almanacs of monks<sup>654</sup> and temples.

The most common function of these rituals were to cure illnesses. Many sources mention that when a member of a high class family, or a *shōgun* became indisposed, which are usually signed with the terms *gonō* 御悩, or *fuyo* 不豫. In these occasions there were either rituals or Buddhist image consecrations. For example, in 1153, a hundred drawings of Enmei and a thousand fascicles of the *Jumyō kyō* were consecrated, at the Toba palace, because the cloistered-retired emperor Toba was suffering from not eating (御悩不食).<sup>655</sup> One of the most famous and thoroughly recorded ritual was performed when the first Tokugawa shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu fell ill in the beginning of 1616.<sup>656</sup>

Since the function of the Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals are the same, it is not wrong to think that the latter developed out of the former, with the help of Japanese esoteric monks. With the passing time the range of the functions and application methods also widened.

During royal pregnancy and childbirth, a series of esoteric rituals were performed in a short period of time, another evidence that shows not just how significant it was to preserve the imperial bloodline, but also how close the association was between the esoteric traditions and the imperial family. As official records, many *mokurokus* of the rituals during that time are preserved, especially in the monumental *Collection of historical documents* (Jp. *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従), such as the *List of Prayers for Delivery* (Jp. *Osan oinori mokurku* 御産御祈目録),<sup>657</sup> or the *Assorted Accounts of Deliveries* (Jp. *Osan buruiki* 御産部類記),<sup>658</sup> etc. As Anna Andreeva points out in her recent study of Heian childbirth customs among the

---

<sup>653</sup> There are many journals extant in Japan. I have used as a source for the images and rituals, for example, the *Chōshūki* 長秋記, *Chūyūki* 中右記, *Denryaku* 殿暦, *Heihanki* 兵範記, *Kennaiki* 建内記, *Midō kanpakuki* 御堂関白記, *Okanoya kanpakuki* 岡屋関白記, *Shōyūki* 小右記.

<sup>654</sup> Two of the most famous and detailed journals that I used include the *Mansai jugō nikki* 満濟准后日記, and the *Gien jugō nikki* 義演准后日記.

<sup>655</sup> *Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku* vol. 39: 1110. The entry is from a writing called *Heihanki* 兵範記.

<sup>656</sup> In the *Dai Nihon shiryō* there are seven separate sources cited related to this event, starting with a lengthy and detailed entry in Gien's journal, the *Gien jugō nikki* 義演准后日記, then it is also described in the *Sanpōin monjo* 三寶院文書, or the *Honkō kokushi nikki* 本光国史日記, etc.

<sup>657</sup> GR vol. 33/2: 472-505.

<sup>658</sup> *Ibid.*



aristocrats, the room where the imperial consorts gave birth had to be ritually secured, by all possible means, which meant that the high-ranking monks and prince-monks of imperially designated temples (*monzeki*) were also invited into the household.<sup>659</sup> Their role was naturally to pray for safe delivery for the royal consort, and for the child to be a male heir.<sup>660</sup> The Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals were regularly carried out, and from time to time the Nyohō sonshō hō is mentioned too. However, I have found no Nyohō Enmeihō ritual among the *delivery rites*. The Enmei ritual is much more often listed than the other one, but both were usually lead by *monzeki* monks of the Tōmitsu (Ninnaji) and Taimitsu (Shōren'in) traditions as well. As one example, in 1103 there are two mentions of such rituals, on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> month, when in the *Takamatsu shindono* 高松寝殿 palace many Buddhist altars were built and images were consecrated for the newly born Munehito Prince 皇子宗仁親王,<sup>661</sup> the future Emperor Toba. Two sources comment on the event, the journal of the statesman, Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141) *Chūyūki* 中右記 (covering the events between 1087 and 1138), and the *Osan buruiki* 御産部類記.<sup>662</sup> The rituals were continued to be performed for the new-born crown prince in the next month as well, according to the *Chūyūki*.<sup>663</sup> On the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the 2<sup>nd</sup> month there were two rituals performed for a newly born prince – who we can assume that it is again Prince Munehito.

---

<sup>659</sup> Andreeva 2014: 363.

<sup>660</sup> Matsumoto 2008: 85. Matsumoto designates the goal of the prayers as the consorts' peaceful execution (平安遂御) and the birth of a prince (皇子降誕).

<sup>661</sup> He was born on the 16<sup>th</sup> of the 1<sup>st</sup> month of the year 1103 (Kōwa 5 康和五年).

<sup>662</sup> According to the *Chūyūki* 中右記 the prayers were for the retired-emperor Shirakawa and the prince: 康和五年正月廿九日己酉、今日上皇皇子御祈、於高松寝殿被始修、(...) 白壇普賢延命. The *Gosan buruiki* 御産部類記 also records this event: 廿九日〔康和五年正月〕己酉、今日若宮御祈自院被行之、御佛十一軀被造始、於寝殿被始行五壇御修法 (...).

<sup>663</sup> *Ibid.* 587.

## V.2. The Rituals and the Tōmitsu-Taimitsu Context

Although, first I thought about separating the presentation of the Fugen Enmei ritual according to the Tōmitsu and Taimitsu traditions, however, after the thorough examination of the various ritual manuals and journals, I decided to give the greatly resembling outlines of the rituals together, and highlight the differences that I were able to dissociate.

Despite the name and the *honzon*, there are no significant differences between the rituals performed by monks affiliated with either of the two esoteric traditions. The monks themselves did not discern the rituals by this, as we realize when reading the list of previous performances. The *Kakuzenshō* and the *Fugen Enmei mishuhōki* 普賢延命御修法記 of the Sanpōin of the Daigoji temple list almost the same first couple of occasions, beginning with the ritual conducted by the Tendai *zasu* Kakujin 覚尋 in 1075 for Emperor Shirakawa, and ending with some rituals with Shingon *ācāryas*. This also shows that the Japanese beginnings were acknowledged by the monks as well. And it also becomes clear that those beginnings were initiated by the Taimitsu tradition. Looking up the rituals in the SSN, it is interesting that before that first Fugen Enmei hō in 1099, conducted by the first monk to take the cloistered-prince title (Jp. *hosshinnō* 法親王), Kakugyō 覚行, only one Enmei hō (in 1087) record survives in the Shingon sources.<sup>664</sup> That occasion too was just a couple of years earlier than the Fugen Enmei hō, in 1087, performed by a Shingon monk called Jōken 定賢 (d.u, active in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century). According to the journals of Fujiwara statesmen, however, there were quite a few examples of Enmei hō performed by Tendai monks, such as the aforementioned ritual in 950 by Myōtatsu, or the one in 1014 by Shinyo 心譽 (971-1029).<sup>665</sup>

The Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals are discussed in some early Tendai commentaries, but mostly focus on the philosophical background of the bodhisattva and its scriptures. Later, when the Fugen Enmei ritual becomes one of the four major Tendai rituals, and it is performed often, we find numerous descriptions of rituals where the leading monk was that of a Tendai affiliation. The only ritual manual with ink drawings included, is the *Asabashō*

---

<sup>664</sup> SSN 1973: 136.

<sup>665</sup> *Midō kanpakuki* vol. 2: 229.

阿婆縛抄, the monumental work of Shōchō 承澄 (1205-1282). Some ritual journals are also included in it. Among these, what can be of interest to us are the exceedingly descriptive ritual procedures of the Nyohō sonshō hō, the Fugen Enmei hō, and the Nyohō Enmei hō. We know that the first two were performed by both esoteric schools, but the third seem to be an exclusively Tendai development, since in the sources we only find Tendai monks as the conducting *ācārya*.

The first ever recorded Fugen Enmei ritual is also Tendai, it is in the 220<sup>th</sup> fascicle of the aforementioned *Asabashō*, which is called the journal of the Fugen Enmei ritual (*Fugen Enmeihō nikki* 普賢延命法日記).

承保二年十月九日。法性寺座主(覚尋) 蒙二綸旨一。於二賀陽院内裏一。  
二十口伴僧一。被レ始二修普賢延命法一矣<sup>666</sup>

On the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the 10<sup>th</sup> month in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Jōhō [1075], the chief abbot of the Hosshōji temple received a private message from the Emperor. At the Kayanoin palace, with twenty assistant monks, the Fugen Enmei ritual was performed for the first time.

This ritual was held for seven days, the ending ceremony (Jp. *kechigan* 結願) was on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the same month.<sup>667</sup> We also get the layout of the altars of almost every ritual that is recorded in this volume. We also gain crucial information about the process of the ritual, including the images as *honrons*. It seems that it was common that the images of Fugen Enmei bosatsu and the four Shitennō deities were consecrated during the opening ceremony (Jp. *kaibyaku* or *kaihaku*, *kaihyaku* 開白, sometimes also called *hyōbyaku* 表白).

The Kayanoin palace (賀陽院 or 高陽院), built by the powerful statesman, Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992-1074), in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, was the location of many Fugen Enmei rituals.

Unlike the Tendai, in the Shingon school, the Enmei and Fugen Enmei rituals were among the most discussed esoteric practices. In historical sources the Fugen Enmeihō appears in 1099 in Shingon context:

---

<sup>666</sup> TZ vol. 9: 864a07 – 09.

<sup>667</sup> *Ibid.* 864b01 – 02.

康和元年六月廿三日、覺行法親王、白河法皇の奉爲に普賢延命法を修す<sup>668</sup>

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month in 1099 (Kōwa 1), Kakugyō cloistered-prince performed the Fugen Enmei ritual for the cloistered-retired Emperor Shirakawa.

The earliest surviving Shingon commentary on either Enmei or Fugen Enmei bosatsu is the *Contemplations of the Ritual Spheres of Essential Deities* (Jp. *Yōson dōjōkan* 要尊道場觀), written by Junnyū 淳祐 (890–953).<sup>669</sup> The *contemplation of the ritual sphere* (Jp. *dōjōkan* 道場觀) is also included, it says,

壇中有<sup>ア</sup>字變成八葉蓮花座。座上有<sup>ヤ</sup>字變成甲冑。甲冑變成延命菩薩。金色之相。具二十臂執持諸寶<sup>670</sup>

In the middle of the sphere, there is the syllable *a*, which transforms into an eight-petal jewel lotus throne, upon which there is the syllable *yuḥ*, which transforms into an armour. This armour then transforms into Enmei bosatsu, whose body is yellow gold in colour, he has twenty arms, holding various treasures.

We see that here the Enmei bodhisattva is still associated with the twenty arms. This will then change, by the time of Kakuzen, it is the two-armed deity who is called Enmei, and his contemplation is as follows:

壇上有<sup>ユ</sup>字。成寶蓮花座。其上<sup>ヰ</sup>字成五髻金剛。轉成延命菩薩。身色黃金。右手持金剛杵。左手持金剛鈴。四大王翼從侍衛。<sup>671</sup>

On the altar there is the syllable *yu*, which transforms into a jewel lotus throne, upon which the syllable *yuḥ* transforms into a five pronged *vajra*. This then transforms into Enmei bosatsu, whose body is yellow gold in colour, in his right hand holds a *vajra*, and a *vajra* bell in his left. (The bosatsu is) flanked by the four great kings, following, serving and defending.

---

<sup>668</sup> SSN 1973: 143. The citation is from the *Omuro sōshō ki* 御室相承記.

<sup>669</sup> T 2468, Vol.78: 47-48.

<sup>670</sup> *Ibid.* 47c20 – 22.

<sup>671</sup> TZ vol. 5: 101b16 – 18.

### V.2.1. Ritual Platforms of the Fugen Enmei Ritual

The Fugen Enmei hō is not a classic four-altar esoteric rite. The four main altars, namely the main ritual sphere (Jp. *daidan* 大壇), the fire rite (*homa*) ritual sphere (Jp. *gomadan* 護摩壇),<sup>672</sup> the ritual sphere of the Twelve deva guardians (Jp. *Jūniten dan* 十二天壇), and the ritual sphere of Nandikeśvara (Jp. *Shōten dan* 聖天壇), are completed with the four smaller ritual spheres of the Four heavenly guardians in the four corners of the ritual space, thus the Fugen Enmei hō is an eight-altar ritual. The set-up of these altars can be found in many ritual manuals, such as the *Kakuzenshō*, the *Asabashō*, or the *Mon'yōki* (Figs. 91, 113-114). When we compare them, we can detect no major differences regarding the Tōmitsu or Taimitsu traditions.

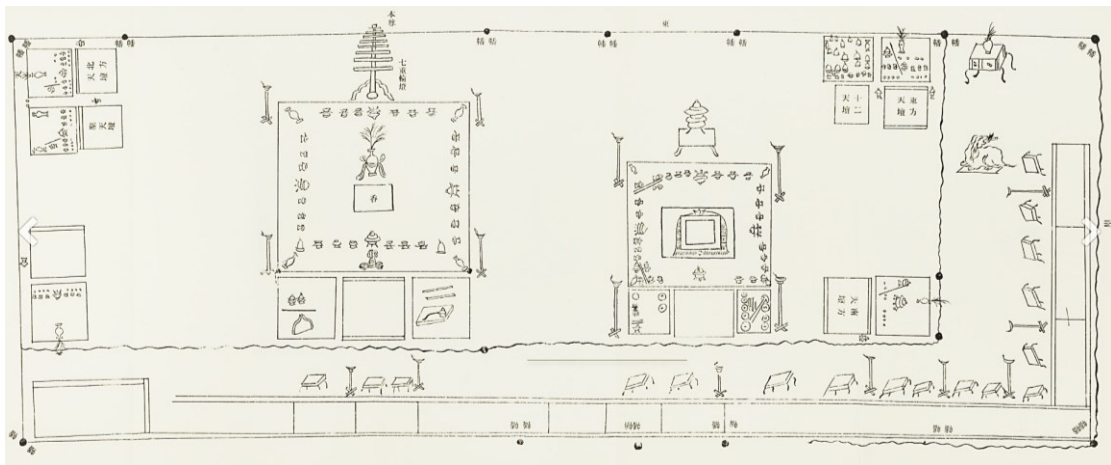


Figure 113. Ritual platform set-up for a Fugen Enmei hō. From *Asabashō*, TZ vol. 9, pp. 134/135.

<sup>672</sup> It is sometimes written as 古摩壇 or 戶摩壇.

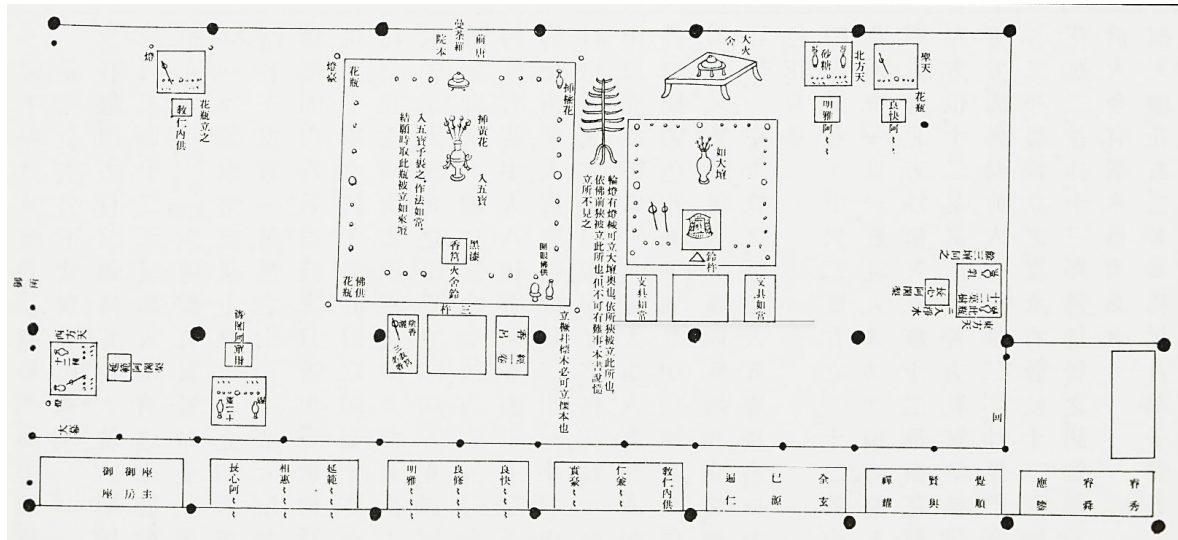


Figure 114. Gyōgen's 行玄 ritual platform set-up for a Fugen Enmei hō in the Shirakawa Eastern Palace (白河東殿) in 1139. From *Mon'yōki*, TZ vol. 11, p. 632.

The figure of the *Kakuzenshō* may be deceiving, for it also includes twenty-one small altars installed on the main ritual sphere (*daidan*). This was common practice in both the Tōmitsu and Taimitsu related rituals, as we can understand from the ritual manuals of these lineages, although not all of the figures of ritual set-ups show them. No matter where the ritual was performed, a palace or a temple hall, it seems that the set-up of the ritual space was always the same.

### V.2.2. *Homa* Rituals and the Adamantine Life-span Scriptures

As we have seen at the examination of the scriptures, the Fugen Enmei text does not contain any references to a ritual, but the adamantine life-span texts do. Since the detailed Fugen Enmei ritual journals or manuals all agree upon that one of the four ritual spheres being a *homa* altar, we should have a glance at this ritual and how it is featured in the previously examined Buddhist texts.

*Homa* ritual is a votive rite employing fire, which can be found throughout the esoteric – or tantric – world, as Richard K. Payne gives this definition in the recent collection of

essays of the study of the *homa* ritual.<sup>673</sup> Although its history goes back to almost four millennia, it is a votive rite, because the practitioner invites the principal deity to the altar to receive the offerings that are thrown into the fire. The procedure and offerings related to the Fugen Enmei *homa* ritual of long life has been explained in the *Kyō hō* text (see Chapter III – The Scriptures and Appendix A and B for the original text and its translation).

Homa rituals are still performed today in Japan, it is the final step in the four ritual training sequence for Shingon monks, and as Payne points out, some ritual elements show the historical continuity of the original Vedic culture, such as the construction and destruction of the altar, before and after the ritual.<sup>674</sup> This historical continuation of ancient Indic ritual culture is the result of the abundant Chinese translations from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, by translators as Yaśogupta, Atikūṭa, Bodhiruci, Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, all the great esoteric masters of the Sui and Tang Dynasties.<sup>675</sup>

The *homa* reached Japan just as any other esoteric notion, from China it was first imported with Mahāyāna texts by monks of the Nara period, then it was reintroduced in a system by the great master of esoteric Buddhism, Kūkai.<sup>676</sup> As we can read the regulations and procedures in the ritual manuals, and also highlighted by Tachikawa Musashi 立川武蔵, the *homa* can be divided into two parts:

- 1) the preliminary ritual (consecration of the monk and the ritual sphere);
- 2) the main ritual (the actual performance of the rite).<sup>677</sup>

The shapes and arrangements of the *homa* ritual altars also correspond to the texts (Figs. 115-117). It is interesting though, that the *homa* platform is sometimes designated as ‘Enmei platform’ 延命壇 on the Taimitsu drawings.<sup>678</sup>

---

<sup>673</sup> Payne – Witzel 2015: 1.

<sup>674</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>675</sup> For an elaborate study of the Chinese *homa* context see Payne – Witzel 2015, esp. 268-278.

<sup>676</sup> *Ibid.* 131.

<sup>677</sup> *Ibid.* 133-137. Tachikawa explicates all the steps of both parts one by one.

<sup>678</sup> See in the *Asabashō*, TZ Vol.9: 865; or the *Mon'yōki*, TZ Vol.11: 637.

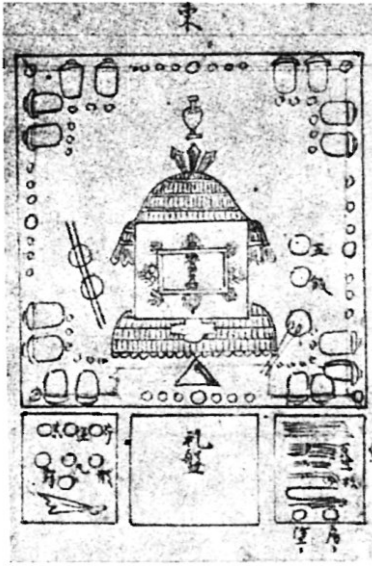


Figure 115. Homa altar drawing. From *Kakuzenshō*, TZ vol. 5, p. 114.

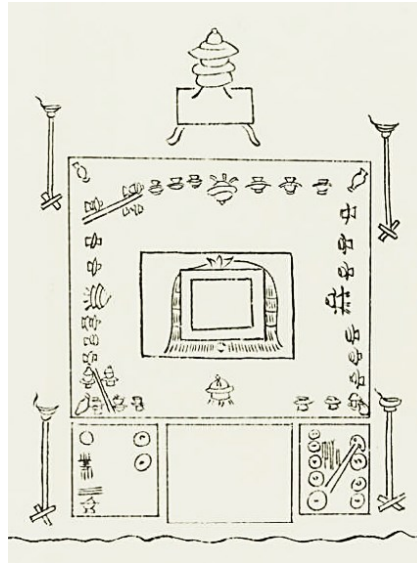


Figure 116. Homa altar drawing. From *Asabashō*, TZ vol. 9, between pp. 134/135.

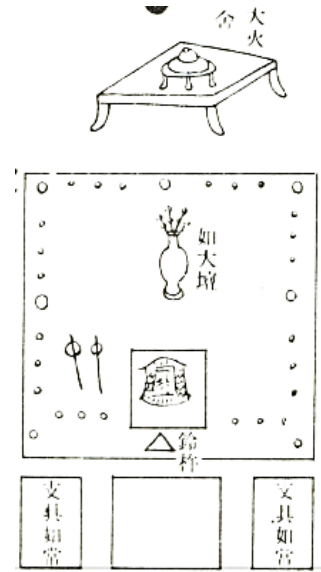


Figure 117. Homa altar drawing. From *Mon'yōki*, TZ vol. 11, p. 632.

The *adamantine life-span* texts, especially the *Kyō hō* scripture, contain ritualistic features, which were used for the *homa* rite of the Fugen Enmei hō. We have a list of the proper settings for the ritual sphere and a set of instructions for the practitioner. What you need for the ritual sphere:

- a pure room;
- an image of the Adamantine Life-span Bodhisattva at the east area of the room;
- many banners and canopies hanged;
- a square platform, three elbows (wide) in front of the image;
- a deep whole filled up with old soil and the roof tiles, stones, bones, ashes, all the defiled objects removed (or pure soil from both banks of the river (Ganges);
- a diamond armour drawn with white powder, one and a half elbows wide at the centre of the platform;
- a hearth in the middle of the room, half an elbow deep with an edge around it (or a furnace).<sup>679</sup>

This description of the ritual sphere is corroborated in the Tōmitsu and Taimitsu ritual manuals, since it is commonly cited, such an example is the *Kakuzenshō*. Kakuzen also quotes all the known sources of the *homa* ritual sphere: two ritual scriptures, one translated by Amoghavajra (the *Kyō hō* text) and another, which is not identified in the description; an oral transmission which must be that of Vajrabodhi's listed in his list of textual bases; and a

<sup>679</sup> T 1134A, vol. 20: 576c07 – 17.



homa ritual manual, which can be identified as Amoghavajra's *Ritual Procedure of the Homa of the Adamantine Pinnacle Yoga* (Ch. *Jingangding yuqie humo yigui*, Jp. *Kongōchō yuga goma giki* 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌).<sup>680</sup>

The instructions for the practitioners are also described:

1. sit in front of the fire hearth;
2. place the veneration drink and food, many fruits, etc. in the four sides of the platform;
3. place flasks in the four corners, place charcoals in the hearth;
4. prepare resinous wood, ten fingers in length, and twenty-one thumbs thick with both of its ends immersed in butter curd (Sk. );
5. recite the Adamantine life-span mantra and throw the woods in the fire;
6. after the zenith of the burning is finished, imagine in the fire an eight petal lotus flower and visualize in the fire: in the womb of the flower the character 'A' (𑖀) appears and this transforms into the Adamantine life-span Bodhisattva, and with the four characters of the four emblems, the Instructor bodhisattva enters the fire hearth, and receives the many veneration, and with (his) right hand (he forms) the half diamond mudrā, and by pouring water (he will) make the fire pure;
7. take a vessel and fill with butter and push one stem of skeletal grass<sup>681</sup> in the butter;
8. recite the Adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī* once, then throw (the butter) in the fire and throw (the stems in the fire), burn various incenses and dairy products;
9. finish reciting, and with three full scoops, pour the butter into the fire.

It is best if we make this offering during the three auspicious months or on one's own "birth-month" or even birthday.

The *Kyō hō* text further elaborates on the four kinds of *homa* rituals:

There are four kinds of *homa* ritual altars, that is to say: square, round, triangular, and (the form of the) lotus flower. In accord with what they desire, they should sit on the (proper) side. (...) Endowed with a detailed explanation just like in the Yoga sūtra, if (one) performs the ritual of avoiding calamities and prolonging life, facing north, (one) should sit and make a circular ritual sphere, contemplate on all the various enlightened ones, their bodies all white in colour, they wear white clothes, and offer them white food. The various offerings and apparatus are all white, and burn agaru incense. If (one) performs the remainder ritual of increasing benefits and riches, face east, sit, (contemplate on) the bodies and the holy honoured ones, and (their) bodies in

---

<sup>680</sup> T 0908, vol. 18: 916-920.

<sup>681</sup> This grass is also named in the *Ritual Manual on the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha* (Ch. *Dizang pusa yigui*, Jp. *Jizō bosatsu giki* 地藏菩薩儀軌, T 1155, vol. 20: 652). See Zhiru 2007: 256.

monastic robes, and offer food, fruits in bowls, all yellow in colour, and burn sandalwood incense. If (one) performs the ritual of subjugation, face north, sit, (contemplate on their) bodies and the principal image, offer monastic robes, all dark bluish black in colour, and burn Persian incense. If (one) performs the ritual of affection, face west, sit, (contemplate on their) bodies and the principal image, offer monastic robes, all red in colour, and burn curd incense.

The *Yoga sūtra* designation usually refers to the *STTS*, however, the two versions translated by either Vajrabodhi (T 0866) or Amoghavajra (T 0865) during the 8th century, do not contain any allusion to these four kinds of homa rituals. Another possibility would be the *Eighteen assemblies* scripture (T 0869) of Amoghavajra, but again, there is no four homa explanation included. Although the ideal candidate would be the *Regulations for the Homa Ritual of the Adamantine Pinnacle Yoga* (Jp. *Kongō yuga goma giki* 金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌), another work of the same Indian master, it expounds five kinds of *homas* not four. The only text that has the same kind of fourfold taxonomy of the homa ritual is found in Vajrabodhi's translation of the *Sūtra of the Pavilion of the Adamantine Peak and all its Yogas and Yogins* (Ch. *Jin'gang fenglouge yiqie yujia yuqi jing*, Jp. *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yuga yugi kyō* 金剛峰樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經)<sup>682</sup> four kinds of *homa*: protection (Jp. *sokusai* 息災), prosperity (Jp. *zōyaku* 增益), gaining love (Jp. *aikyō* 愛敬), and subjugation (Jp. *kōfuku* 降伏).<sup>683</sup> He also mentions five kinds of rites in this text, but not explicitly as the five kinds of *homa*, as did Amoghavajra.

There are some different points in the texts. For example, at the end of the homa in the *Nenju hō* text, it was the “a” 阿 character which appeared in the fire, while in the *Kyō hō* it is the “yuh” character, the *bīja* (Jp. *shuji* 種子), or seed syllable, of Fugen Enmei bodhisattva. It was the Adamantine life-span mantra recited, now it is the long life mantra.

---

<sup>682</sup> T 0867, vol. 18: 253-269; Orzech – Sorensen – Payne 2011: 139.

<sup>683</sup> *Ibid.* 256a10–11

### V.3. Enmei and Fugen Enmei in Other Rituals

Apart from their main function we find other contexts that either the rituals or their parts are used. The Enmei hō becomes one of a set of rituals, the Enmei mantra is chanted in other two rituals, and the Fugen Enmei image is used at the homa ritual sphere *honzon* of another rite. In this subchapter I briefly introduce two significant rituals of these, which appear in some important context. I am not focusing on the mantras though, for they are usually simply listed among many other mantras, and their role is not significant in our study.

#### V.3.1. Enmei hō in the Miyo no hajime sandan mishuhō

After this Fugen Enmei ritual was introduced to the group of protecting esoteric rituals, greatly expanding from the mid-Heian period, let us see what has become of the Enmei hō, frequently performed before the appearance of the Fugen Enmei hō. One would think that after such a complex ritual of Japanese taste had been produced, it would have outshined the previous, but the Enmei ritual did not disappear, it was still being actively executed even after the Heian period. One of the reasons for its survival is the emergence of a special set of rituals, the Miyo no hajime sandan hō 御代始三壇法 (cited hereafter as Sandan hō),<sup>684</sup> which was performed after the inauguration of a new emperor, and thus became quite important in the imperial palace.<sup>685</sup> The three rituals were the Nyorin hō 如意輪法, the Fudō hō 不動法, and the Enmei hō, the leading ācārya always came from the Tōji temple of the Tōmitsu, or one of the Taimitsu main lineages (*jimon* or *sanmon*).<sup>686</sup> Takasu Akira 鷹巢晃 gives a list of all the Sandan hō that can be gathered from extant sources.<sup>687</sup> The

---

<sup>684</sup> It was called by many names: Sandan fudan no mishuhō 三壇不斷の御修法, Kōke sandan no mishuhō 公家三壇の御修法, Chōjitsu sandan hō 長日三壇法, or simply Sandan hō 三壇法. (Takasu 1980: 42; Matsumoto 2010: 264.)

<sup>685</sup> Takasu 1980: 42.

<sup>686</sup> Matsumoto remarks that although until the end of the Heian period it was set which lineage monk performs which ritual (Nyorin hō: Taimitsu sanmon; Fudō hō: Taimitsu jimon; Enmei hō: Tōmitsu Tōji temple lineage), from the Kamakura it was mixed up. However, the lineages did not change (Matsumoto calls them the '*three lineages being in charge of the Yo no hajime sandan hō*'). (Matsumoto 2010: 265.)

<sup>687</sup> *Ibid.* 53.

three rituals were performed in 1069 for the first time, after the inauguration ceremony (Jp. *sokui kanjō* 即位灌頂) of Emperor Gosanjō 後三条天皇 (1034-1073, r. 1068-1073), beginning a custom that lasted until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and after an almost five hundred year gap, it was reutilized in the beginning of the Meiji period for Emperor Meiji 明治天皇 (1852-1912, r. 1868-1912).<sup>688</sup> Takasu guesses that the reason for these rituals can be deduced to the need of a new emperor to secure his reign, to avoid the calamities that are caused by uncontrollable forces, for which esoteric monks and their rituals, with the supernatural powers of the deities, can provide a solution.<sup>689</sup>

The monks who became the leaders of this ritual, were specially appointed to a rank called the emperor's protecting monks (Jp. *gojisō* 護持僧),<sup>690</sup> who prayed for the protection of the emperor's body. Although in the sources it is always called the Enmei ritual, Takasu associates that with the Fugen Enmei ritual, for it was consisted of three major rituals, which were used to secure three kinds of protection: the emperor's prosperity, tranquillity, and longevity.<sup>691</sup> The three rituals were generally performed on the same day, although some examples show multiple days for the rituals.

### V.3.2. Fugen Enmei in the Nyohō sonshō hō

There is one ritual where the Fugen Enmei image is also installed, namely the Nyohō sonshō hō 如法尊勝法. It is an esoteric rite that features the wish-fulfilling jewel as the *honzon*. This ritual is included in Kakuzen's Shingon ritual manual, and also in the Tendai *Asabashō*. Thus, this ritual is again found in both the Tōmitsu and Taimitsu traditions. It was first performed in 1109 by Hanjun 範俊 (1038-1112), but as the *Kakuzenshō* (Kajūji

---

<sup>688</sup> Matsumoto 2010: 263.

<sup>689</sup> Takasu 1980: 44.

<sup>690</sup> The beginnings of this rank goes back to the 8th century, when the inner-offerer ten meditation master (Jp. *naigubu jūzenshi* 内供奉十禪師) rank was established for the protection of the emperor, during the reign of Emperor Kanmu 桓武天皇 (-806, r. 781-806). These monks served in the room called *futama* 二間 ('two gen wide') of the Seiryōden 清涼殿, one of the imperial palace building.

<sup>691</sup> Takasu 1980: 42.

edition) – and later Nakano Genzō 中野玄三 – points out, they did not use this image during the first ritual.<sup>692</sup>

Uekawa concludes here upon examining its origins the three ways of how a ritual could have entered the Japanese Buddhist matrix. He states without hesitation that this ritual is an example of the last, i.e. it was shaped in Japan.<sup>693</sup> Uekawa lists some factors which attest to his theory. First and foremost, there is no evidence of this ritual being performed before that first recorded occurrence in 1109. Then, Uekawa highlights that the name of the ritual changed: it was designated as the Sonshō mishuhō 尊勝御修法 in Hanjun's preparations notes (Jp. *shitaku* 支度), cited in the *Kakuzenshō*, but then, a couple of years later it became Nyohō sonshō hō, clearly showing a tentative inclination when it comes to the title of the ritual.<sup>694</sup> The length of the ritual is again undecided at first, it is said that it is performed for seven days in Hanjun's note,<sup>695</sup> but it is either twenty-one or thirty-five days in Zōshun's 増俊 (1084-1165).<sup>696</sup> Also, the fact that during the first ritual there was no Fugen Enmei image used, but later it became common to have that image hung on the north side of the homa altar, is another evidence of the hazy beginnings.

As for Fugen Enmei Bodhisattva's connection with this ritual, we turn again to the text of the ritual in the *Kakuzenshō*, where it is pointed out that,

口伝云、普賢延命即金剛薩埵、金剛薩埵即大日也、大日即尊勝仏頂云々<sup>697</sup>

the oral tradition says that Fugen Enmei is Vajrasattva (Kongōsatta), Vajrasattva is Mahāvairocana (Dainichi), and Mahāvairocana is Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa (Sonshō butchō).<sup>698</sup>

---

<sup>692</sup> *Kajūji zenbon eiin shūsei* Vol.3. (2001): 53; Nakano 2004: 569. Also see TZ vol. 4: 557b02.

<sup>693</sup> Uekawa 2008: 76.

<sup>694</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>695</sup> TZ vol. 9: 859c19.

<sup>696</sup> TZ vol. 4: 559c27 – 28.

<sup>697</sup> *Ibid.* 550c16 – 17.

<sup>698</sup> The Vikīrṇoṣṇīṣa is one of the five Buddha crowns. The other four are: Saishō butchō 最勝仏頂 (Sk. Vijayoṣṇīṣa), Shō butchō 勝仏頂 (or Joshō butchō 除障仏頂, Sk. Jayoṣṇīṣa), Byakusangai butchō 白傘蓋仏頂 (Sk. Sitātapatroṣṇīṣa), and Hishū butchō 火聚仏頂 (Sk. Tejorāśyusṇīṣa). Also: five bodhisattvas of the five forms of wisdom, sometimes placed on the left of Śākyamuni. (DCBT 1934: 113)

## V.4. The Fugen Enmeihō Today

Being one of the four major rituals, the Fugen Enmeihō is being performed every four years in the Konponchūdō 根本中堂 at the Enryakuji temple on Mt. Hiei. Every four years, because one ritual per year is performed in a seven-day period, between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> day of April. It seems that the common distinction between the Enmei and Fugen Enmei ritual was preserved in practice in the *taimitsu* tradition, however, it does not necessarily mean that the ritual was forgotten by the Shingon school. The commentaries of Ueda Shōhen 上田照遍 (1828-1907) are evidence that they were still handed down even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Shōhen, just like his master, Hōkan 宝肝 (d.u.), was a monk at the Enmeiji temple 延命寺 in Kawachi, Osaka. The collected work of his writings (*Shōhen oshō zenshū* 照遍和尚全集) comprises a secret commentary on the Fugen Enmei ritual (Jp. *Fugen Enmei hō hiki* 普賢延命法秘記).<sup>699</sup> This brief description includes the usual aspects of the ritual, the mantra, the mudrā, or the bīja of Fugen Enmei, and there is also touches upon the problem of the names and versions of the longevity rituals, namely the Jumyō kyō hō, the Enmei hō and Fugen Enmei hō. Shōhen concludes that first two have the same *honzon* (the two-armed Enmei bosatsu) and are rituals of lesser importance. He goes on that the scripture translated by Vajrabodhi was read during the Jumyō kyō and Fugen Enmei rituals – although he does not mention the name of the scripture, but we can surmise from the following analysis that he thinks of the *Issai kyō*, translated by Vajrabodhi during the reign of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong.<sup>700</sup> He does not write about actual performances of the ritual though.

---

<sup>699</sup> *Shōhen oshō zenshū* vol. 2: 103-107.

<sup>700</sup> *Ibid.* 108.

## VI. Concluding Remarks

The notion of longevity stems in one of the most natural human desires, the desire to live. In Buddhist thought, however, the will to live longer gets a new meaning: from a worldly desire it is elevated to a spiritual level, where non-retrogression of the mind, and consequently not being born again becomes the ultimate goal. Fugen Enmei bodhisattva is just one small piece of the puzzle which is the esoteric universe. The presence of the ritual and the image is the result of the eternal and universal human desire for a long and healthy life. From the point of view of the Historical Buddha and his words, it may seem atypical to be included among the Buddhist dharma, but the history and development of the esoteric teachings, with all their uniqueness, the longevity rituals fit right into the picture. There are at least thirteen texts, translated – or transcribed – over a period of four centuries, which are related to the notion of longevity, and after examining their contents it becomes clear that they do not only entail a long life as an ephemeral worldly gain, but offers far more imperative spiritual benefits.

The timeline of Fugen Enmei bosatsu proposes an interesting story. We see that one of the images arrived before the scripture which expounds his coming into existence. The early arrival of the Vajrabodhi oral transmission and its image, but not the Fugen Enmei scripture points to the different traditions that were alive in the Chinese esoteric milieu during the late Tang period. As I pointed out, all evidence indicates that the Vajrabodhi transmission originated at the Qinglongsi monastery, and that of the Fugen Enmei scripture at Mt. Wutai. Both traditions were transmitted to Japan during the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the initial ritual associated probably with the adamant life-span texts were already performed in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. We also know that during the next century the rituals were frequently held, and a great number of images were consecrated. They were performed for various reasons, the main goals included, for example, the curing of maladies, getting rid of bad omens, safe deliveries, or the assurance of a male heir for the imperial throne.

This great number of consecrations and rituals indicates that it was uniquely popular in the aristocratic world, however, there is not one record of this ritual ever been performed for other than significant people, such as the Fujiwara officials, shoguns, or the members of the imperial family. Also, the many assisting monks during the ceremonies (usually six to

twenty assistant priests besides the head priest, the *ācārya*), the length of the performance (usually between seven and twenty-one days), and the fact that new images were made quite often before important rituals show not just the significance, but the undoubtedly immense cost of performing these rituals.

As for the spread of these iconographies, Nakano Genzō rightfully proposes the question why start writing down and copying the so-far secretly transmitted teachings and depictions? He argues that it was in direct connection with the gradually increasing scale of aristocratic patronage.<sup>701</sup> Most rituals were performed from the beginning in great number for exclusively high class people to satisfy their spiritual and worldly needs, still reigning emperors built the temples for their own rituals (for example the collectively called Rokushōji 六勝寺 by the orders of Emperor Shirakawa),<sup>702</sup> and the retired emperors and royal princes took the vow of the bodhisattva (establishing the *insei* and *monzeki* systems). The intertwining lineages of the two esoteric traditions inevitably brought about the confusion in the Enmei and Fugen Enmei images. However, this patronage is also why there are so many Buddhist images surviving today. Nakano Genzō points out that the emperors, retired emperors and statesmen tended to collect these secret images in their temples.<sup>703</sup>

The Enmei ritual, a lesser esoteric rite survived for centuries, because of its ties to the enthronements of emperors, newly ascending to the throne. The Fugen Enmei ritual, which is still performed every four years, is a major rite of Japanese origins, developed during the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Owing to the popularity and usefulness of these rituals, there survives a sufficient number of images of the two main types, which allowed a complete investigation of the various iconographies.

---

<sup>701</sup> Nakano 1982: 93.

<sup>702</sup> “Six Victorious Temples.” The six are: Hosshōji 法勝寺 (Emperor Shirakawa 白河天皇, 1077), Sonshōji 尊勝寺 (Emperor Horikawa 堀川天皇, 1102), Saishōji 最勝寺 (Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇, 1118), Enshōji 円勝寺 (imperial consort Taikenmon’in 待賢門院, 1128), Jōshōji 成勝寺 (Emperor Sutoku 崇徳天皇, 1139), and Enshōji 延勝寺 (Emperor Konoe 近衛天皇, 1149). They are called this because the middle Chinese character of all is the shō 勝 (meaning victorious). All of these Buddhist temples were founded in the Heian period, as sacred vow temples (Jp. *goganji* 御願寺), build by imperial order. The precedent was Emperor Shirakawa’s Hosshōji temple 法勝寺, and all the other temples are connected in some way to the founder, since all the founder were relations (son, grandson, great-grandson, and adopted daughter) of Shirakawa’s. All of these temple-founding activities are recorded in the Tendai *zasu Jien*’s 慈円 (1155-1225) *Gukanshō* 愚管抄.

<sup>703</sup> Nakano 1982: 93.



Buddhist images cannot be examined out of context. Therefore I decided to give an outline of the dissemination of the depictions of esoteric deities first. This was necessary to understand the constant interaction of the Buddhist doctrines and local cultures, which shaped the trends of depictions. By the time the Buddhist thought reached Japan, it had already had a long history in India and China, and it was still evolving during the first couple of centuries of its Japanese career. This is also indicated by the diversity of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century imports of Japanese monks. Most of these imports became more or less important in the Japanese esoteric stage. Fugen Enmei bosatsu's survival was ensured through the centuries, as the *honzon* of a ritual, which had strong ties with the high classes and the imperial family. It was always in the focus of monks, with his manifold name, depiction, association, which were integrated by both esoteric traditions. The confusion of its beginnings slowly cleared up with time, although some of the questions remained unsolved. My first and foremost goal was to introduce the problems of the iconography, and see if there were developments in the bodhisattva's depiction. Although some variants could be delineated to a monk or at least to a specific temple, the vague origins made this job very difficult. Nevertheless, there are some results, which deserve to be pointed out, such as the clearing up the ritual beginnings with their respective *honzon* types. This is the first time that anyone ever collected such a number of extant depictions, therefore no comprehensive iconographic examination could have been possible beforehand. There were not many attempts, either. Yanagisawa Taka's study must be highlighted, though, that was thorough, and consequently highly useful in the present research as well. However, Yanagisawa only knew about two-third of the images. Some of the Enryakuji and Daigoji images have never been studied or published before either, although they have excessive influence on our iconographic study in showing the development of the Enmei images, for example.

Also, though the spotlight was on the images, it is important to point out that the related texts have never been presented in English, and had only been introduced by a couple of studies even in Japan.

## VI.1. Future Research Prospects

There are still some questions that will be left open for now. Questions mostly concerning the origins of the scriptures and images, which would require a thorough research in China. Especially the *Fugen Enmei sūtra* is problematic, because of its unconvincing attribution to Amoghavajra. Its language, vocabulary, and notions should undergo a comparative analysis with the master's other texts.

Apart from the scriptures, the majority of the sources are concerned about the rituals. The amount of extant inscriptions, documents, and journal entries give an outline of the circumstances of the rituals, but there are also lengthy ritual procedures surviving in ritual manuals. The next step would be the investigation of temple archives, especially of those great, old esoteric centres like the Enryakuji, Kongōbuji, Daigoji, Kōzanji, Ninnaji temples, etc. The detailed, separate examination of the rituals connected to the Tōmitsu and Taimitsu traditions could highlight the development of the functions and parts of the rites.

The stylistic examination of the extant images – which was barely touched upon this time – is also lacking. It could greatly benefit and expand the history of Japanese Buddhist art, especially in the regard of smaller temples, and how and in what degree were the images disseminated through the rituals or the esoteric monks. Also, we cannot close the search for new images just yet, since Fugen Enmei bosatsu is – and has been – easily mistaken for Samantabhadra by those who are ignorant of the iconographies.

# Appendix A

## The Adamantine life-span and Fugen Enmei Texts (*Taishōzō*)

T 1133, Vol.20: 575-576.

一、遍以印左旋一匝解所結界。復結初三。磨耶印。置於頂上。誦金剛解脫真言。奉送聖尊及其眷屬真言曰：

\*唵。囉日囉。二合。薩。怛。嚩。三合。穆。奉送已。復結三昧耶印。誦真言。加持四處。灌頂被甲。悅喜印等。出道場已。於一切時。但住大菩提心。或常持大印。即於現生。得成等覺。何況諸果。不成就耶。唯除不利益。一切有情心。捨菩提心。餘所求善願。無不剋獲。

金剛王菩薩。祕密念誦。儀軌。一。卷

No. 1133 (cf. No. 1134)

金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法

開府儀同三司特進試鴻臚卿肅國公食邑三千戶賜紫贈司空諡大鑒正號大廣智大興善寺三藏沙門不空奉

我今依金剛頂瑜伽經。毘盧遮那報身佛。於色界頂第四禪。成等正覺。即下須彌頂金寶臺。樓閣。盡虛空遍法界。一切如來。皆悉雲集前後圍遶。異口同音。惟願世尊轉微妙法甚深祕密四種法輪。所謂金剛界輪。降三世教令輪。遍調伏法輪。一切義利成就輪。如是四輪。從毘盧遮那如來心出。一一輪皆有三十七聖者。一一真言。一一三摩地。一一印契。威儀執持大悲願力。於雜染佛世界。淨妙佛世界。或隱或顯輪轉利樂。度諸衆生。各各不同。

毘盧遮那佛受諸如來請已。欲轉法輪時。即入三摩地。觀見摩薩首羅天等。剛強難化。執著邪見。非我寂靜大悲之身。堪任調伏。於時世尊入忿怒三摩地。從胸臆五峯金剛菩提心。流出四面八臂威德熾盛。赫奕難降。三世金剛菩薩。遍禮毘盧遮那。及一切諸佛。唯願世尊示教於我。何所爲作。佛告降三世菩薩。汝今調伏難調諸天。令歸依諸佛法僧發菩提心。諸天盡皆歸依。唯大自在天特大威德。來相拒敵。降三世種種苦治。乃至於死。毘盧遮那佛入悲愍大悲三昧耶。說金剛壽命陀羅尼。便入金剛壽命三摩地。乃結印契。加持摩薩首羅天。復還得蘇。更增壽命。歸依諸佛。灌頂。授記證得八地。金剛壽命真言曰：

\*唵。囉日囉。二合。薩。怛。嚩。三合。穆。引

佛告執金剛菩薩。若有善男子善女人。受持念誦。日各三時。時別千遍。過去所有惡業。因緣。短命夭壽。由持此陀羅尼故。信心清淨。業障銷滅。更增壽命。若有修習三摩地者。現生不轉父母生身。獲五神通。凌虛自在。說三摩地門。結加趺坐。端身閉目。二手重疊。安於臍下。於虛空中。遍想諸佛。了了分明。即於自身中。當心觀如滿月。光明瑩徹。上有五股金剛杵。形漸大如等身。變爲降三世菩薩。頂有毘盧遮那佛。從佛遍身。遍毛孔中。出甘露灌頂。注自身入於心中。復想金剛薩埵菩薩。即結金剛壽命菩薩陀羅尼印。二手金剛拳。以頭指右押左相鉤。安於頂上。誦金剛壽命陀羅尼七遍。安於額上。分手緊攣項後。直舒二指。遍身旋轉。如攪甲冑。勢甲冑真言曰：

\*唵。祢。囉。三合。嚩。欲由加持此印。故獲得身如金剛。不壞離諸災橫。見者歡喜。生大恭敬。

次說護摩除災延命壇。治一淨室。於東邊安金剛壽命菩薩像。懸諸幡蓋。像前作三肘方壇。掘深去瓦礫。骨灰。諸不淨物等。如其地無諸穢物。還取舊土填之。土若有餘。是大吉祥。相。法易成就。若有穢物。即取河兩岸淨土填平。和諸香。羅摩夷塗。壇中心畫以白粉。作一肘半金剛甲冑。中央穿一爐。深半肘。周圍四面供養飲食諸果子等。壇四角安瓶。於爐中然炭。先辦乳木。長十指。龜如大指。二十一。以酥搗兩頭。誦金剛壽命真言。擲於火中。然熾盛已。即於火中想八葉蓮華。於華胎中想阿字。光明遍照。成金剛壽命菩薩。次以四字四明。引請菩薩入火爐。受諸供養。即以右手半金剛印。以水灑火令淨。次取一器盛滿酥。酥以骨屢草青者一莖。搗。酥。誦金剛壽命陀羅尼一遍。擲於火中。乃至一百八莖。或一千八莖。次後擲燒諸香乳酪。念誦已畢。以三滿杓。酥傾於火中。初後如是。若能於三長齋月。或自本生日。作是供養。能除災難。增

(三) 欲十 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿ ㏀ ㏁ ㏂ ㏃ ㏄ ㏅ ㏆ ㏇ ㏈ ㏉ ㏊ ㏋ ㏌ ㏍ ㏎ ㏏ ㏐ ㏑ ㏒ ㏓ ㏔ ㏕ ㏖ ㏗ ㏘ ㏙ ㏚ ㏛ ㏜ ㏝ ㏞ ㏟ ㏠ ㏡ ㏢ ㏣ ㏤ ㏥ ㏦ ㏧ ㏨ ㏩ ㏪ ㏫ ㏬ ㏭ ㏮ ㏯ ㏰ ㏱ ㏲ ㏳ ㏴ ㏵ ㏶ ㏷ ㏸ ㏹ ㏺ ㏻ ㏼ ㏽ ㏾ ㏿ 㐀 㐁 㐂 㐃 㐄 㐅 㐆 㐇 㐈 㐉 㐊 㐋 㐌 㐍 㐎 㐏 㐐 㐑 㐒 㐓 㐔 㐕 㐖 㐗 㐘 㐙 㐚 㐛 㐜 㐝 㐞 㐟 㐠 㐡 㐢 㐣 㐤 㐥 㐦 㐧 㐨 㐩 㐪 㐫 㐬 㐭 㐮 㐯 㐰 㐱 㐲 㐳 㐴 㐵 㐶 㐷 㐸 㐹 㐺 㐻 㐼 㐽 㐾 㐿 㑀 㑁 㑂 㑃 㑄 㑅 㑆 㑇 㑈 㑉 㑊 㑋 㑌 㑍 㑎 㑏 㑐 㑑 㑒 㑓 㑔 㑕 㑖 㑗 㑘 㑙 㑚 㑛 㑜 㑝 㑞 㑟 㑠 㑡 㑢 㑣 㑤 㑥 㑦 㑧 㑨 㑩 㑪 㑫 㑬 㑭 㑮 㑯 㑰 㑱 㑲 㑳 㑴 㑵 㑶 㑷 㑸 㑹 㑺 㑻 㑼 㑽 㑾 㑿 㒀 㒁 㒂 㒃 㒄 㒅 㒆 㒇 㒈 㒉 㒊 㒋 㒌 㒍 㒎 㒏 㒐 㒑 㒒 㒓 㒔 㒕 㒖 㒗 㒘 㒙 㒚 㒛 㒜 㒝 㒞 㒟 㒠 㒡 㒢 㒣 㒤 㒥 㒦 㒧 㒨 㒩 㒪 㒫 㒬 㒭 㒮 㒯 㒰 㒱 㒲 㒳 㒴 㒵 㒶 㒷 㒸 㒹 㒺 㒻 㒼 㒽 㒾 㒿 㓀 㓁 㓂 㓃 㓄 㓅 㓆 㓇 㓈 㓉 㓊 㓋 㓌 㓍 㓎 㓏 㓐 㓑 㓒 㓓 㓔 㓕 㓖 㓗 㓘 㓙 㓚 㓛 㓜 㓝 㓞 㓟 㓠 㓡 㓢 㓣 㓤 㓥 㓦 㓧 㓨 㓩 㓪 㓫 㓬 㓭 㓮 㓯 㓰 㓱 㓲 㓳 㓴 㓵 㓶 㓷 㓸 㓹 㓺 㓻 㓼 㓽 㓾 㓿 㔀 㔁 㔂 㔃 㔄 㔅 㔆 㔇 㔈 㔉 㔊 㔋 㔌 㔍 㔎 㔏 㔐 㔑 㔒 㔓 㔔 㔕 㔖 㔗 㔘 㔙 㔚 㔛 㔜 㔝 㔞 㔟 㔠 㔡 㔢 㔣 㔤 㔥 㔦 㔧 㔨 㔩 㔪 㔫 㔬 㔭 㔮 㔯 㔰 㔱 㔲 㔳 㔴 㔵 㔶 㔷 㔸 㔹 㔺 㔻 㔼 㔽 㔾 㔿 㕀 㕁 㕂 㕃 㕄 㕅 㕆 㕇 㕈 㕉 㕊 㕋 㕌 㕍 㕎 㕏 㕐 㕑 㕒 㕓 㕔 㕕 㕖 㕗 㕘 㕙 㕚 㕛 㕜 㕝 㕞 㕟 㕠 㕡 㕢 㕣 㕤 㕥 㕦 㕧 㕨 㕩 㕪 㕫 㕬 㕭 㕮 㕯 㕰 㕱 㕲 㕳 㕴 㕵 㕶 㕷 㕸 㕹 㕺 㕻 㕼 㕽 㕾 㕿 㖀 㖁 㖂 㖃 㖄 㖅 㖆 㖇 㖈 㖉 㖊 㖋 㖌 㖍 㖎 㖏 㖐 㖑 㖒 㖓 㖔 㖕 㖖 㖗 㖘 㖙 㖚 㖛 㖜 㖝 㖞 㖟 㖠 㖡 㖢 㖣 㖤 㖥 㖦 㖧 㖨 㖩 㖪 㖫 㖬 㖭 㖮 㖯 㖰 㖱 㖲 㖳 㖴 㖵 㖶 㖷 㖸 㖹 㖺 㖻 㖼 㖽 㖾 㖿 㗀 㗁 㗂 㗃 㗄 㗅 㗆 㗇 㗈 㗉 㗊 㗋 㗌 㗍 㗎 㗏 㗐 㗑 㗒 㗓 㗔 㗕 㗖 㗗 㗘 㗙 㗚 㗛 㗜 㗝 㗞 㗟 㗠 㗡 㗢 㗣 㗤 㗥 㗦 㗧 㗨 㗩 㗪 㗫 㗬 㗭 㗮 㗯 㗰 㗱 㗲 㗳 㗴 㗵 㗶 㗷 㗸 㗹 㗺 㗻 㗼 㗽 㗾 㗿 㘀 㘁 㘂 㘃 㘄 㘅 㘆 㘇 㘈 㘉 㘊 㘋 㘌 㘍 㘎 㘏 㘐 㘑 㘒 㘓 㘔 㘕 㘖 㘗 㘘 㘙 㘚 㘛 㘜 㘝 㘞 㘟 㘠 㘡 㘢 㘣 㘤 㘥 㘦 㘧 㘨 㘩 㘪 㘫 㘬 㘭 㘮 㘯 㘰 㘱 㘲 㘳 㘴 㘵 㘶 㘷 㘸 㘹 㘺 㘻 㘼 㘽 㘾 㘿 㙀 㙁 㙂 㙃 㙄 㙅 㙆 㙇 㙈 㙉 㙊 㙋 㙌 㙍 㙎 㙏 㙐 㙑 㙒 㙓 㙔 㙕 㙖 㙗 㙘 㙙 㙚 㙛 㙜 㙝 㙞 㙟 㙠 㙡 㙢 㙣 㙤 㙥 㙦 㙧 㙨 㙩 㙪 㙫 㙬 㙭 㙮 㙯 㙰 㙱 㙲 㙳 㙴 㙵 㙶 㙷 㙸 㙹 㙺 㙻 㙼 㙽 㙾 㙿 㚀 㚁 㚂 㚃 㚄 㚅 㚆 㚇 㚈 㚉 㚊 㚋 㚌 㚍 㚎 㚏 㚐 㚑 㚒 㚓 㚔 㚕 㚖 㚗 㚘 㚙 㚚 㚛 㚜 㚝 㚞 㚟 㚠 㚡 㚢 㚣 㚤 㚥 㚦 㚧 㚨 㚩 㚪 㚫 㚬 㚭 㚮 㚯 㚰 㚱 㚲 㚳 㚴 㚵 㚶 㚷 㚸 㚹 㚺 㚻 㚼 㚽 㚾 㚿 㜀 㜁 㜂 㜃 㜄 㜅 㜆 㜇 㜈 㜉 㜊 㜋 㜌 㜍 㜎 㜏 㜐 㜑 㜒 㜓 㜔 㜕 㜖 㜗 㜘 㜙 㜚 㜛 㜜 㜝 㜞 㜟 㜠 㜡 㜢 㜣 㜤 㜥 㜦 㜧 㜨 㜩 㜪 㜫 㜬 㜭 㜮 㜯 㜰 㜱 㜲 㜳 㜴 㜵 㜶 㜷 㜸 㜹 㜺 㜻 㜼 㜽 㜾 㜿 㝀 㝁 㝂 㝃 㝄 㝅 㝆 㝇 㝈 㝉 㝊 㝋 㝌 㝍 㝎 㝏 㝐 㝑 㝒 㝓 㝔 㝕 㝖 㝗 㝘 㝙 㝚 㝛 㝜 㝝 㝞 㝟 㝠 㝡 㝢 㝣 㝤 㝥 㝦 㝧 㝨 㝩 㝪 㝫 㝬 㝭 㝮 㝯 㝰 㝱 㝲 㝳 㝴 㝵 㝶 㝷 㝸 㝹 㝺 㝻 㝼 㝽 㝾 㝿 㞀 㞁 㞂 㞃 㞄 㞅 㞆 㞇 㞈 㞉 㞊 㞋 㞌 㞍 㞎 㞏 㞐 㞑 㞒 㞓 㞔 㞕 㞖 㞗 㞘 㞙 㞚 㞛 㞜 㞝 㞞 㞟 㞠 㞡 㞢 㞣 㞤 㞥 㞦 㞧 㞨 㞩 㞪 㞫 㞬 㞭 㞮 㞯 㞰 㞱 㞲 㞳 㞴 㞵 㞶 㞷 㞸 㞹 㞺 㞻 㞼 㞽 㞾 㞿 㟀 㟁 㟂 㟃 㟄 㟅 㟆 㟇 㟈 㟉 㟊 㟋 㟌 㟍 㟎 㟏 㟐 㟑 㟒 㟓 㟔 㟕 㟖 㟗 㟘 㟙 㟚 㟛 㟜 㟝 㟞 㟟 㟠 㟡 㟢 㟣 㟤 㟥 㟦 㟧 㟨 㟩 㟪 㟫 㟬 㟭 㟮 㟯 㟰 㟱 㟲 㟳 㟴 㟵 㟶 㟷 㟸 㟹 㟺 㟻 㟼 㟽 㟾 㟿 㠀 㠁 㠂 㠃 㠄 㠅 㠆 㠇 㠈 㠉 㠊 㠋 㠌 㠍 㠎 㠏 㠐 㠑 㠒 㠓 㠔 㠕 㠖 㠗 㠘 㠙 㠚 㠛 㠜 㠝 㠞 㠟 㠠 㠡 㠢 㠣 㠤 㠥 㠦 㠧 㠨 㠩 㠪 㠫 㠬 㠭 㠮 㠯 㠰 㠱 㠲 㠳 㠴 㠵 㠶 㠷 㠸 㠹 㠺 㠻 㠼 㠽 㠾 㠿 㡀 㡁 㡂 㡃 㡄 㡅 㡆 㡇 㡈 㡉 㡊 㡋 㡌 㡍 㡎 㡏 㡐 㡑 㡒 㡓 㡔 㡕 㡖 㡗 㡘 㡙 㡚 㡛 㡜 㡝 㡞 㡟 㡠 㡡 㡢 㡣 㡤 㡥 㡦 㡧 㡨 㡩 㡪 㡫 㡬 㡭 㡮 㡯 㡰 㡱 㡲 㡳 㡴 㡵 㡶 㡷 㡸 㡹 㡺 㡻 㡼 㡽 㡾 㡿 㢀 㢁 㢂 㢃 㢄 㢅 㢆 㢇 㢈 㢉 㢊 㢋 㢌 㢍 㢎 㢏 㢐 㢑 㢒 㢓 㢔 㢕 㢖 㢗 㢘 㢙 㢚 㢛 㢜 㢝 㢞 㢟 㢠 㢡 㢢 㢣 㢤 㢥 㢦 㢧 㢨 㢩 㢪 㢫 㢬 㢭 㢮 㢯 㢰 㢱 㢲 㢳 㢴 㢵 㢶 㢷 㢸 㢹 㢺 㢻 㢼 㢽 㢾 㢿 㣀 㣁 㣂 㣃 㣄 㣅 㣆 㣇 㣈 㣉 㣊 㣋 㣌 㣍 㣎 㣏 㣐 㣑 㣒 㣓 㣔 㣕 㣖 㣗 㣘 㣙 㣚 㣛 㣜 㣝 㣞 㣟 㣠 㣡 㣢 㣣 㣤 㣥 㣦 㣧 㣨 㣩 㣪 㣫 㣬 㣭 㣮 㣯 㣰 㣱 㣲 㣳 㣴 㣵 㣶 㣷 㣸 㣹 㣺 㣻 㣼 㣽 㣾 㣿 㤀 㤁 㤂 㤃 㤄 㤅 㤆 㤇 㤈 㤉 㤊 㤋 㤌 㤍 㤎 㤏 㤐 㤑 㤒 㤓 㤔 㤕 㤖 㤗 㤘 㤙 㤚 㤛 㤜 㤝 㤞 㤟 㤠 㤡 㤢 㤣 㤤 㤥 㤦 㤧 㤨 㤩 㤪 㤫 㤬 㤭 㤮 㤯 㤰 㤱 㤲 㤳 㤴 㤵 㤶 㤷 㤸 㤹 㤺 㤻 㤼 㤽 㤾 㤿 㥀 㥁 㥂 㥃 㥄 㥅 㥆 㥇 㥈 㥉 㥊 㥋 㥌 㥍 㥎 㥏 㥐 㥑 㥒 㥓 㥔 㥕 㥖 㥗 㥘 㥙 㥚 㥛 㥜 㥝 㥞 㥟 㥠 㥡 㥢 㥣 㥤 㥥 㥦 㥧 㥨 㥩 㥪 㥫 㥬 㥭 㥮 㥯 㥰 㥱 㥲 㥳 㥴 㥵 㥶 㥷 㥸 㥹 㥺 㥻 㥼 㥽 㥾 㥿 㦀 㦁 㦂 㦃 㦄 㦅 㦆 㦇 㦈 㦉 㦊 㦋 㦌 㦍 㦎 㦏 㦐 㦑 㦒 㦓 㦔 㦕 㦖 㦗 㦘 㦙 㦚 㦛 㦜 㦝 㦞 㦟 㦠 㦡 㦢 㦣 㦤 㦥 㦦 㦧 㦨 㦩 㦪 㦫 㦬 㦭 㦮 㦯 㦰 㦱 㦲 㦳 㦴 㦵 㦶 㦷 㦸 㦹 㦺 㦻 㦼 㦽 㦾 㦿 㧀 㧁 㧂 㧃 㧄 㧅 㧆 㧇 㧈 㧉 㧊 㧋 㧌 㧍 㧎 㧏 㧐 㧑 㧒 㧓 㧔 㧕 㧖 㧗 㧘 㧙 㧚 㧛 㧜 㧝 㧞 㧟 㧠 㧡 㧢 㧣 㧤 㧥 㧦 㧧 㧨 㧩 㧪 㧫 㧬 㧭 㧮 㧯 㧰 㧱 㧲 㧳 㧴 㧵 㧶 㧷 㧸 㧹 㧺 㧻 㧼 㧽 㧾 㧿 㨀 㨁 㨂 㨃 㨄 㨅 㨆 㨇 㨈 㨉 㨊 㨋 㨌 㨍 㨎 㨏 㨐 㨑 㨒 㨓 㨔 㨕 㨖 㨗 㨘 㨙 㨚 㨛 㨜 㨝 㨞 㨟 㨠 㨡 㨢 㨣 㨤 㨥 㨦 㨧 㨨 㨩 㨪 㨫 㨬 㨭 㨮 㨯 㨰 㨱 㨲 㨳 㨴 㨵 㨶 㨷 㨸 㨹 㨺 㨻 㨼 㨽 㨾 㨿 㩀 㩁 㩂 㩃 㩄 㩅 㩆 㩇 㩈 㩉 㩊 㩋 㩌 㩍 㩎 㩏 㩐 㩑 㩒 㩓 㩔 㩕 㩖 㩗 㩘 㩙 㩚 㩛 㩜 㩝 㩞 㩟 㩠 㩡 㩢 㩣 㩤 㩥 㩦 㩧 㩨 㩩 㩪 㩫 㩬 㩭 㩮 㩯 㩰 㩱 㩲 㩳 㩴 㩵 㩶 㩷 㩸 㩹 㩺 㩻 㩼 㩽 㩾 㩿 㪀 㪁 㪂 㪃 㪄 㪅 㪆 㪇 㪈 㪉 㪊 㪋 㪌 㪍 㪎 㪏 㪐 㪑 㪒 㪓 㪔 㪕 㪖 㪗 㪘 㪙 㪚 㪛 㪜 㪝 㪞 㪟 㪠 㪡 㪢 㪣 㪤 㪥 㪦 㪧 㪨 㪩 㪪 㪫 㪬 㪭 㪮 㪯 㪰 㪱 㪲 㪳 㪴 㪵 㪶 㪷 㪸 㪹 㪺 㪻 㪼 㪽 㪾 㪿 㫀 㫁 㫂 㫃 㫄 㫅 㫆 㫇 㫈 㫉 㫊 㫋 㫌 㫍 㫎 㫏 㫐 㫑 㫒 㫓 㫔 㫕 㫖 㫗 㫘 㫙 㫚 㫛 㫜 㫝 㫞 㫟 㫠 㫡 㫢 㫣 㫤 㫥 㫦 㫧 㫨 㫩 㫪 㫫 㫬 㫭 㫮 㫯 㫰 㫱 㫲 㫳 㫴 㫵 㫶 㫷 㫸 㫹 㫺 㫻 㫼 㫽 㫾 㫿 㬀 㬁 㬂 㬃 㬄 㬅 㬆 㬇 㬈 㬉 㬊 㬋 㬌 㬍 㬎 㬏 㬐 㬑 㬒 㬓 㬔 㬕 㬖 㬗 㬘 㬙 㬚 㬛 㬜 㬝 㬞 㬟 㬠 㬡 㬢 㬣 㬤 㬥 㬦 㬧 㬨 㬩 㬪 㬫 㬬 㬭 㬮 㬯 㬰 㬱 㬲 㬳 㬴 㬵 㬶 㬷 㬸 㬹 㬺 㬻 㬼 㬽 㬾 㬿 㭀 㭁 㭂 㭃 㭄 㭅 㭆 㭇 㭈 㭉 㭊 㭋 㭌 㭍 㭎 㭏 㭐 㭑 㭒 㭓 㭔 㭕 㭖 㭗 㭘 㭙 㭚 㭛 㭜 㭝 㭞 㭟 㭠 㭡 㭢 㭣 㭤 㭥 㭦 㭧 㭨 㭩 㭪 㭫 㭬 㭭 㭮 㭯 㭰 㭱 㭲 㭳 㭴 㭵 㭶 㭷 㭸 㭹 㭺 㭻 㭼 㭽 㭾 㭿 㮀 㮁 㮂 㮃 㮄 㮅 㮆 㮇 㮈 㮉 㮊 㮋 㮌 㮍 㮎 㮏 㮐 㮑 㮒 㮓 㮔 㮕 㮖 㮗 㮘 㮙 㮚 㮛 㮜 㮝 㮞 㮟 㮠 㮡 㮢 㮣 㮤 㮥 㮦 㮧 㮨 㮩 㮪 㮫 㮬 㮭 㮮 㮯 㮰 㮱 㮲 㮳 㮴 㮵 㮶 㮷 㮸 㮹 㮺 㮻 㮼 㮽 㮾 㮿 㯀 㯁 㯂 㯃 㯄 㯅 㯆 㯇 㯈 㯉 㯊 㯋 㯌 㯍 㯎 㯏 㯐 㯑 㯒 㯓 㯔 㯕 㯖 㯗 㯘 㯙 㯚 㯛 㯜 㯝 㯞 㯟 㯠 㯡 㯢 㯣 㯤 㯥 㯦 㯧 㯨 㯩 㯪 㯫 㯬 㯭 㯮 㯯 㯰 㯱 㯲 㯳 㯴 㯵 㯶 㯷 㯸 㯹 㯺 㯻 㯼 㯽 㯾 㯿 㰀 㰁 㰂 㰃 㰄 㰅 㰆 㰇 㰈 㰉 㰊 㰋 㰌 㰍 㰎 㰏 㰐 㰑 㰒 㰓 㰔 㰕 㰖 㰗 㰘 㰙 㰚 㰛 㰜 㰝 㰞 㰟 㰠 㰡 㰢 㰣 㰤 㰥 㰦 㰧 㰨 㰩 㰪 㰫 㰬 㰭 㰮 㰯 㰰 㰱 㰲 㰳 㰴 㰵 㰶 㰷 㰸 㰹 㰺 㰻 㰼 㰽 㰾 㰿 㱀 㱁 㱂 㱃 㱄 㱅 㱆 㱇 㱈 㱉 㱊 㱋 㱌 㱍 㱎 㱏 㱐 㱑 㱒 㱓 㱔 㱕 㱖 㱗 㱘 㱙 㱚 㱛 㱜 㱝 㱞 㱟 㱠 㱡 㱢 㱣 㱤 㱥 㱦 㱧 㱨 㱩 㱪 㱫 㱬 㱭 㱮 㱯 㱰 㱱 㱲 㱳 㱴 㱵 㱶 㱷 㱸 㱹 㱺 㱻 㱼 㱽 㱾 㱿 㲀 㲁 㲂 㲃 㲄 㲅 㲆 㲇 㲈 㲉 㲊 㲋 㲌 㲍 㲎 㲏 㲐 㲑 㲒 㲓 㲔 㲕 㲖 㲗 㲘 㲙 㲚 㲛 㲜 㲝 㲞 㲟 㲠 㲡 㲢 㲣 㲤 㲥 㲦 㲧 㲨 㲩 㲪 㲫 㲬 㲭 㲮 㲯 㲰 㲱 㲲 㲳 㲴 㲵 㲶 㲷 㲸 㲹 㲺 㲻 㲼 㲽 㲾 㲿 㳀 㳁 㳂 㳃 㳄 㳅 㳆 㳇 㳈 㳉 㳊 㳋 㳌 㳍 㳎 㳏 㳐 㳑 㳒 㳓 㳔 㳕 㳖 㳗 㳘 㳙 㳚 㳛 㳜 㳝 㳞 㳟 㳠 㳡 㳢 㳣 㳤 㳥 㳦 㳧 㳨 㳩 㳪 㳫 㳬 㳭 㳮 㳯 㳰 㳱 㳲 㳳 㳴 㳵 㳶 㳷 㳸 㳹 㳺 㳻 㳼 㳽 㳾 㳿 㴀 㴁 㴂 㴃 㴄 㴅 㴆 㴇 㴈 㴉 㴊 㴋 㴌 㴍 㴎 㴏 㴐 㴑 㴒 㴓 㴔 㴕 㴖 㴗 㴘 㴙 㴚 㴛 㴜 㴝 㴞 㴟 㴠 㴡 㴢 㴣 㴤 㴥 㴦 㴧 㴨 㴩 㴪 㴫 㴬 㴭 㴮 㴯 㴰 㴱 㴲 㴳 㴴 㴵 㴶 㴷 㴸 㴹 㴺 㴻 㴼 㴽 㴾 㴿 㵀 㵁 㵂 㵃 㵄 㵅 㵆 㵇 㵈 㵉 㵊 㵋 㵌 㵍 㵎 㵏 㵐 㵑 㵒 㵓 㵔 㵕 㵖 㵗 㵘 㵙 㵚 㵛 㵜 㵝 㵞 㵟 㵠 㵡 㵢 㵣 㵤 㵥 㵦 㵧 㵨 㵩 㵪 㵫 㵬 㵭 㵮 㵯 㵰 㵱 㵲 㵳 㵴 㵵 㵶 㵷 㵸 㵹 㵺 㵻 㵼 㵽 㵾 㵿 㶀 㶁 㶂 㶃 㶄 㶅 㶆 㶇 㶈 㶉 㶊 㶋 㶌 㶍 㶎 㶏 㶐 㶑 㶒 㶓 㶔 㶕 㶖 㶗 㶘 㶙 㶚 㶛 㶜 㶝 㶞 㶟 㶠 㶡 㶢 㶣 㶤 㶥 㶦 㶧 㶨 㶩 㶪 㶫 㶬 㶭 㶮 㶯 㶰 㶱 㶲 㶳 㶴 㶵 㶶 㶷 㶸 㶹 㶺 㶻 㶼 㶽 㶾 㶿 㷀 㷁 㷂 㷃 㷄 㷅 㷆 㷇 㷈 㷉 㷊 㷋 㷌 㷍 㷎 㷏 㷐 㷑 㷒 㷓 㷔 㷕 㷖 㷗 㷘 㷙 㷚 㷛 㷜 㷝 㷞 㷟 㷠 㷡 㷢 㷣 㷤 㷥 㷦 㷧 㷨 㷩 㷪 㷫 㷬 㷭 㷮 㷯 㷰 㷱 㷲 㷳 㷴 㷵 㷶 㷷 㷸 㷹 㷺 㷻 㷼 㷽 㷾 㷿 㸀 㸁 㸂 㸃 㸄 㸅 㸆 㸇 㸈 㸉 㸊 㸋 㸌 㸍 㸎 㸏 㸐 㸑 㸒 㸓 㸔 㸕 㸖 㸗 㸘 㸙 㸚 㸛 㸜 㸝 㸞 㸟 㸠 㸡 㸢 㸣 㸤 㸥 㸦 㸧 㸨 㸩 㸪 㸫 㸬 㸭 㸮 㸯 㸰 㸱 㸲 㸳 㸴 㸵 㸶 㸷 㸸 㸹 㸺 㸻 㸼 㸽 㸾 㸿 㹀 㹁 㹂 㹃 㹄 㹅 㹆 㹇 㹈 㹉 㹊 㹋

益壽命。國土安泰。無諸災疫風雨。以時。一切賢聖擁護其人。  
金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法

No. 1134 A (Cat. Nos. 1133, 1134B)

金剛壽命陀羅尼經法

特進試鴻臚卿大辨正  
廣智三藏奉 詔譯

爾時毘盧遮那如來。於色界頂第四禪成等正覺。即下須彌山頂。於金剛寶樓閣。盡虛空遍法界。一切如來皆悉雲集。前後圍繞。異口同音。唯願世尊轉妙法輪。甚深祕密。所謂金剛界輪。降三世教令輪。遍調伏法輪。一切義成就輪。如是四輪從毘盧遮那心出。一一輪皆有三十七聖者。一一真言。一一三摩地。一一契印威儀軌持。大悲願力。於難染佛刹。於淨妙世界。或隱或顯。轉輪利樂度諸衆生。各各不同。毘盧遮那佛。受諸如來請已。欲轉法輪時。即入三摩地。觀見摩薩首羅大自在天。剛強難化執持邪見。非我寂靜大悲之身堪任調伏。於是世尊入悲怒三摩地。從胸臆間現出五峯金剛大菩提心。流出四面八臂威德熾盛奇特難觀降三世金剛菩薩身。遍禮毘盧遮那如來及一切諸佛。惟願世尊示教於我。何所作爲。佛告降三世菩薩。汝今降伏彼難調伏諸大天等。令悉歸依諸佛法僧發菩提心。尋即降伏一切諸天等。盡歸依佛法

僧衆。唯大自在天特大威德而生拒敵。降三世菩薩種種苦治乃至於死。<sup>左踏大天</sup>於是毘盧遮那如來。入大悲怒三摩地已。即說金剛壽命陀羅尼。復入金剛壽命三昧耶。及結密印。加持摩薩首羅天王。還復得甦重增壽命。歸依諸佛發菩提心。灌頂受記證得八地位。金剛壽命真言曰

唵 囉 日 羅 二 合 喻 灑 娑 囉 二 合 賀

佛告執金剛菩薩若有善男子善女人。受持念誦每日三時時別千遍。過現所有惡業因緣短命夭壽。由持此真言故信心清淨。業障消滅更增壽命。若有修習三摩地者。現生不轉父母生身。獲五神通。陵空自在。次說三摩地門。結跏趺坐閉目端身。二手重疊或結定印。安於臍下。於虛空中遍想諸佛了了分明。即自身中當其心上。觀淨滿月光明瑩徹。上有五股金剛杵形舒熾漸大如等己身變爲降三世金剛菩薩。頂有毘盧遮那如來。從佛身上遍體毛孔中出。白甘露灌注自身。次心中復觀。金剛薩埵菩薩。相好殊勝威德自在。次結金剛壽命加持甲冑密印。各以二手作金剛拳。以進力右押左。相鉤安於頂上。即誦壽命真言七遍。安於額前分手繫項。繫項後已。直舒進力旋轉如環。下至心上相纏如繫甲勢。次至背後復繫。來至臍前膝腰後。當心二肩頂前。頂後。復至額前重繫項後。金剛拳繫漸垂兩手。徐徐而下如垂帶勢。當誦真言成被甲冑護身被甲真言曰

唵 囉 日 羅 二 合 欲 三

由結密印加持威力。身如金剛堅固難壞。離諸災橫見者歡喜。一切人民生大恭敬。次說護摩祕密之法。所謂除災延壽增益吉祥富饒辨才無礙。乃至疫疾風雨等難。依法作之一切願滿。護摩壇法有其四種。所謂方圓三角蓮華。隨其所求依方而坐。本尊形像依法畫之。塗壇軌儀如餘部說。我今略說除災延壽建壇之法。淨治一室掘深一肘。除去穢惡不淨之物灰骨瓦石。淨土填之。作一方壇量廣三肘。置摩塗飾如淨鏡面掘地之時若得餘寶。是大吉祥殊勝之相。所求諸願速得成就。若有異物。當取河岸淨土填之。平治如法。以諸衆香和瞿摩夷重重塗飾。於壇中心用白粉。作一肘半金剛甲冑。中央穿作一肘火爐。或深半肘隨其所宜。若其不能穿之。取一火爐安於壇心亦得。印位華緣依位作之。設壇既了懸諸幡蓋。安置金剛三世尊像。供養之物華菓飲食布壇四周。護摩藥物置行者前。又以四瓶置壇四角。面對本尊依法念誦。先辨乳木長十指量。如大指二十一。蘇盞兩頭爐中燒炭火熾盛誦延命真言加持火木。每誦一遍一擲火中。火既熾已。於光焰中觀作八葉蓮華。於胎中當觀字。光明晃曜遍照成大金剛壽命菩薩。次以四字明引請菩薩。降入壇中受諸供養。四字密言曰

唵 囉 日 羅 二 合 欲 三

①以二已②法十(三經同卷)③乙本與舊曰貞享元年甲子九月二十日校點了淨嚴四十六載。元祿十六年正月二十九日以淨嚴和上之本再校了尊敬。④享和元年刊登山大學藏本。⑤天永元年寫高山寺藏本。⑥[等]一⑦左踏乃至后八字甲本作本文。⑧陵二凌⑨股二貽⑩白二自⑪直二宜⑫頂二項⑬字二冬⑭[唵引…三]十五字一⑮摩十(夷)\*⑯爐二爐⑰(長十…一)十一字二(載長二十一指量可長十指)十一字⑱攝二攝⑲(花)十胎⑳(真)十密

即以右手作半金剛印。以水灑火令淨。次取一器盛滿融蘇。取骨蕒草一千八莖乃至一百八莖。以搗其蘇。誦壽命真言。隨其草數。一誦。一擲於其火中。既擲盡已。次復燒擲諸香乳酪。如前念誦課數畢已。滿杓傾蘇於火中。初後如是。若能於三長齋月或自生月乃至生日作是供養。能除災難增益壽命。具大福智勝願圓滿。行來出入官位高遷。富饒財寶皆悉稱意。若求男女并及聰明當候。大陽虧時加持牛蘇服之。即得若加持九節菖蒲。令煙暖光等三相現已。而取服之即滿其願。日誦萬言辨說無礙。若求陵空隱顯自在。當以牛黃一依前法無間加持。三相現已塗足點額。遊空自在。更求餘一切諸願。但於餘部隨心作之。悉皆成就無不遂者。亦使國土安寧無諸災疫。風雨以時人民安樂。一切賢聖擁護其身。廣說勝利不可窮盡。具如瑜伽經中廣說。若作息災延壽法。面向北坐當作圓壇。觀諸聖眾悉皆白色。身著白衣供養白食。諸供養具一切皆白燒沈香。若作增益富饒法者。面向東坐。身及聖尊及身衣服。并及供養食菓器物。一切黃色燒白檀香。若作調伏法者。面向南坐。身及本尊衣服供具。一切盡皆深青黑色。燒安息香。若作敬愛法者。面向西坐。身及本尊衣服供具。一切盡皆赤色。燒蘇合等香。是普賢延命種子也。

金剛壽命陀羅尼經法。

儀軌震部卷二。大明藏杜函所入。金剛壽

一一三四 金剛壽命陀羅尼經

命陀羅尼念誦法。金剛智與沙門空譯經。與此經同本。而脫落不少。今得天永元庚寅年。延寶四年五月。天明元辛丑年五月。三傳之本於智積院慈順僧正所檢閱。記其異冠。命工令壽。此本者。遍照金剛及慈覺智證三師之請來。實為善本。時享和改元辛酉年秋八月二十一之夜。校于燈下。

豐山總持院沙門快道誌

一校加筆了

享和癸亥孟夏初六

慈順

No. 1134 B (cf. Nos. 1133, 1134A)

### 金剛壽命陀羅尼經

特進試鴻臚卿大辨正  
大廣智三藏奉 詔譯

爾時毘盧遮那如來。於色界頂第四禪成正覺。即下須彌山頂。於金剛寶樓閣。盡虛空遍法界一切如來皆悉雲集。前後圍繞異口同音。唯願世尊轉妙法輪甚深祕密。所謂金剛界輪。降三世教令輪。遍調伏法輪。一切義成就輪。如是四輪從毘盧遮那心出。一一輪皆有三十聖者。一一真言。一一三摩地。一一契印威儀軌持。大悲願力。於雜染佛刹。於淨妙世界。或隱或顯。轉輪利樂度諸眾生各各不同。毘盧遮那佛。受諸如來請已。欲轉法輪。時即入三摩地。觀見摩醯首羅大自在天。剛

強難化執持邪見。非我寂靜大悲之身堪任調伏。於是世尊入悲怒三摩地。從胸臆間出現五峯金剛大菩提心。流出四面八臂威德熾盛奇特難觀降三世金剛菩薩身。遍禮毘盧遮那如來及一切諸佛。唯願世尊示教於我。何所作爲。佛告降三世菩薩。汝今降伏彼難調伏諸大天等。令悉歸依諸佛法僧發菩提心。尋即降伏一切諸天。盡皆歸依佛法僧衆。唯大自在天。特大威德而生拒敵。降三世菩薩種種苦治乃至於死。左路天於是毘盧遮那如來。入大悲怒三摩地已。即說金剛壽命陀羅尼。復入金剛壽命三昧耶。及結密印加持摩醯首羅天王。還復得甦重增壽命。歸依諸佛發菩提心。灌頂受記證得八地位。金剛壽命真言

唵 嚩 日 囉 二 合 喻 囉 薩 囉 二 合 訶 引  
佛告執金剛菩薩。若有善男子善女人。受持念誦每日三時特別千遍。過現所有惡業因緣短命夭壽。由持此真言故信心清淨。業障消滅更增壽命。若有修習三摩地者。現生不轉父母生身。獲五神通陵空自在。次當誦護身被甲真言曰

唵 嚩 日 囉 二 合 欲  
次當觀 欲字。光明晃曜遍照。成大金剛壽命菩薩。次以四字明引請菩薩。降入壇中受諸供養。四字密言曰

唵 嚩 日 囉 二 合 欲  
惹 吽 嚩 斛

①〔一〕—④ ⑤拘二拘 ⑥〔齊〕—⑩ ⑪大二太 ⑫菖蒲二昌蒲 ⑬甲本與云天永元年十一月十七日申時許於御房以同御本書了同二年三月八日丑時許於御房本移點了。僧林寬之本。同二年九月十九日於瀨尾護摩堂午時許御房奉受了。久安五年四月二日巳時許口口房奉受了 ⑭以下甲本無之 ⑮享和元年刊長谷寺藏本 ⑯特二特 ⑰言十〔日〕 ⑱

延寶四年五月。寫梅尾藏本。律師淨嚴天  
明元辛丑年寫宇治慧心院本。慈忍今年  
得件本令寫之。按勘以印版蓋此經者前  
經之略出。爲不堪者唯示眼精。非是別本  
也。和州長谷寺寓居劬勞釋快道記  
一技加筆畢 癸亥四月六日 慈順

## No. 1135

開府儀同三司特進試鴻臚卿肅國公食邑三千戶賜紫贈司空諡大鑑正號大廣智大興善寺三藏沙門不空奉詔譯

如是我聞。一時佛在兜率陀剎與諸比丘及大菩薩無量天人大衆俱。爾時世尊告毘沙門等四天王言。有四種法甚可怖畏。若男若女童男童女。一切有情無能免者。所謂生老病死。於中一法最爲過惱。難可對治。所謂生老死怖。我愍是故說對治法。爾時四天王白佛言。世尊我於今日爲獲大利。唯願世尊爲衆生故宣說是法。爾時世尊面向東方。彈指召集一切如來。作是誓言。所有十方一切如來應正等覺。爲衆生故。證菩提者咸皆助我。令我以一切如來威神力故。悉令一切衆生轉

非命業使增壽命。我昔未爲衆生轉此法輪  
於今方轉。能令衆生壽命色力皆得成就無  
天死怖如是。南西北方四維上下。召集。驚告  
亦復如是。爾時十方盡佛眼所到。若千世界  
一切如來皆悉赴集。遍滿虛空。數如微塵。爾  
時一切諸佛爲加持故。異口同音。卽說一切  
如來金剛壽命陀羅尼曰

二合薩底二合稽四所訖浪泥二合薩南五鉢囉二合  
含滿口都薩婆路說六薩婆薩怛𑖀二合南七  
阿娜𑖀𑖀俱娜𑖀九𑖀遮𑖀遮𑖀十係麼澆<sub>反牛</sub>  
哩十一係麼倆錢尼十二係麼戶棄十三嬌羅微  
十四嬌羅迷十五係俱囉微十六信囉哩十七俱  
麼底十八微捨麼毘十九戌戌毘毘二十阿戶  
犁二十彌者犁二十麼尾覽麼三十甲毛戶  
\*毛四十唵<sub>四</sub>五十麼折囉囉師<sub>某甲</sub>十六二薩𑖀

爾時十方佛所。一切執金剛菩薩異口同音  
亦說延命陀羅尼曰

卽引卽引尸棄薩隴二合詞引

如是一切如來及十方執金剛菩薩。說是陀  
羅尼已隱而不現

爾時毘沙門天王白佛言。我亦以佛神力。爲  
一切衆生加持護念。除非身故說陀羅尼

始尾下同帝一始尾怛釁二栗利

爾時毘樓勒叉天王又白佛言。我亦以佛神  
力爲多衆生除天命故。說陀羅尼

摩訶登覺 一摩訶登儼尼三輪三麼輪麼謀三

爾時提頭賴吒天王亦白佛言。我亦爲諸衆

生。除死怖故說陀羅<sub>尼</sub>  
者嚧者嚧一者囉<sub>囉</sub>啤

爾時毘樓博叉天王亦白佛言。我亦以佛神力故。令一切衆生除非命故說陀羅尼。未臨一<sub>三</sub>魔魔魔。

佛告四天王言：若有誦誦此經，日日受持，乃至一遍，當敬彼善男子、善女人，應如佛想，終不墮三惡道，定增壽命。若人每日爲一切衆生轉讀此經，終無天死短命之怖，亦無惡夢、魘魅、呪咀、惡形、羅刹、鬼神之怖，亦不爲水火、兵毒之所傷害。一切諸佛菩薩攝受、護念其處，亦爲佛所護持。爾時世尊說是經已，毘沙門天王等一切大衆皆大歡喜，信受奉行。

① 麗本，② 黃藥版淨嚴等校訂加筆本。③ 〈開府…空〉四十三字二〔南天竺國三藏金剛智共沙門智藏〕十四字④〔唐南天竺國三藏金  
剛智共沙門智藏〕十五字⑤⑥ 在二住⑦ 遍一過⑧ 遍一惟⑨ 合十〔如是〕⑩ 驚一觀⑪ 底二備也二合去引  
⑫ 爾也二合引⑬ 攝十〔初〕細註⑭ 彌伽知二尾略⑮ 十二喃⑯ 都十〔六〕細註⑰ 跋路跋六薩  
二諸路引設離勝⑱ 離二殊知解反八⑲ 殊知解切八⑳ 〔逆通…反〕十一字二〔摩笈婆羅十者尊者囉呼麼漢〕十二字㉑  
⑳ 尼十〔和〕細註㉒〔去聲〕細註㉓ 二蓋㉔ 抵十〔麼捉〕㉕ 戌戊二戌㉖ 昆十〔和〕細註㉗ 宣一讀  
㉘ 毛二章㉙ \* 二十細注囉二瞿日囉二合㉚ 師二囉㉛ 〔二十六〕㉜ 阿二合引廿二十五㉝ 〔引〕

No. 1136

佛說一切諸如來心光明加持普  
賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經

大興善寺開府儀同三司肅國公特  
進試鴻臚贈司空諡大辨正廣智食  
邑三千戶師子國三藏沙門不空譯

如是我聞。一時佛在兜率陀天。與諸大比丘  
僧菩薩摩訶薩天人眾俱。爾時會中有普賢  
菩薩。住如來祕密三摩地。從三昧起。現大神  
通力。諸佛加持宣金剛壽命陀羅尼。令諸眾  
生增壽命故無夭橫死。亦令獲得金剛壽命  
堅固不壞。成就菩提不退地。爾時世尊於  
心轉光明召集十方世界恒河沙諸佛。滿虛  
空中。各放光明如因陀羅網。以光明照觸普  
賢菩薩。令宣說金剛壽命經。

爾時普賢菩薩得諸佛心印。即住金剛壽命  
三昧耶。於身毛孔中放無量微塵等數光遍  
十方界。以自在神通力即說陀羅尼曰  
怛囉也三合他一者隸者隸二尾囊知三娑  
縛二合悉底二合計四祈羯囉二合識爾五鉢囉  
二合拾漫觀六薩囉路識引薩囉娑怛囉二合南  
七阿曇囉八句曇囉九摩賀曇囉十者隸者隸十  
一係摩誤僑二合哩十二係摩爾鉢囉十三係摩  
尸乘十四嬌囉吠十五嬌囉憐十六係俱囉吠十七  
俱囉囉十八俱囉摩底十九微捨摩寧摩寧二十  
戌林毘囉二十一阿者梨二十微者梨三十摩尼  
覽囉四呼半呼半五十唵囉日囉二合諱囉娑

爾時十方如來加持一切執金剛菩薩。異口  
同音亦說延命陀羅尼曰

說是陀羅尼已。大地山河悉皆振動。地獄摧  
碎宮震動。病苦眾生當時蘇息。會中有無量  
執金剛神。異口同音亦共宣說。諸大菩薩摩  
訶薩眾悉助延命宣說陀羅尼。令獲金剛壽命  
爾時十方塵沙諸佛心印加持。令普賢菩薩  
及四天王增得金剛壽命。爾時世尊彈指讚  
嘆。汝能快善利益眾生。若有善男子善女人  
怖畏天橫非命及不祥事。即以沐浴著新淨  
衣燒香散花。持我延命心真言。即增壽若有  
病苦眾生。求長壽故離於病苦。即建立道場。  
於清淨屋舍。或就伽藍。請三七比丘清淨僧。  
轉讀此經各四十九遍。別持是陀羅尼滿十  
萬遍。即獲壽命。病者即於夜夢自見殊勝境  
界。我此延命法先須彩書普賢菩薩。如滿月  
童子形。五佛頭冠。右手持金剛杵。左手持召  
集金剛鈴。契鬘綬綬帶坐千葉寶華。下有白  
象牙象有三頭。鼻獨獨股杵各具六牙。其象  
四足踏一大金剛輪。輪下有五千群象。各負  
其輪。於菩薩身放百寶光。光外盡日月輪衆  
彩莊嚴盡得其像。於清淨處建立道場。令  
清淨僧持是真言。及轉此經乃至書寫。及持  
金剛壽命陀羅尼滿十萬遍。即增壽命除天  
橫故

爾時四天王等承佛加持助普賢菩薩延命各  
立誓言。娑婆世界南瞻部洲但有此經法流  
行之處。我等四王即為結護令無天橫。如有  
此經清淨道場如不降。願我失此威光損  
我果報。退失菩提心不得解脫

爾時十方如來加持一切執金剛菩薩。異口  
同音亦說延命陀羅尼曰

唵囉日囉二合諱勢呼呬尸棄娑囉二合賀  
如是說已。一切如來十方執金剛菩薩隱於  
虛中已不現

爾時毘沙門天王白佛言。世尊我亦以助佛  
神力加持護念除非命故說陀羅尼曰

唵囉日囉二合諱勢。濕吠帝濕吠帝濕吠多隸  
理娑囉二合賀

說是陀羅尼已。令一切眾生獲得壽命無天  
橫故

爾時毘樓勒叉天王白佛言。世尊我亦以助  
佛神力宣說延命陀羅尼曰

唵囉日囉二合諱勢摩蹬儼摩蹬儼摩蹬儼  
輪摩輪謀囉二合賀

說是陀羅尼已。獲得壽命無天橫故

爾時毘樓博叉天王白佛言。世尊我亦以助  
佛神力故助宣延命陀羅尼曰

唵囉日囉二合諱勢者理者理者理隸

說是陀羅尼令諸眾生獲金剛壽命無天橫故

爾時提頭賴吒天王白佛言。世尊我亦以佛  
神力宣說延命陀羅尼曰

唵囉日囉二合諱勢未臨囉囉囉娑囉二合賀  
說是陀羅尼已。令諸眾生獲金剛壽命無天  
橫故

爾時佛告四天王言。若有眾生怖畏死難病  
苦天橫。有如是苦。但書寫此經受持讀誦。或  
別持此陀羅尼。或畫普賢延命像。作此方法  
依月一日八日十五日。建立道場燒四十九

東寺三密藏古寫本

一三六

一切諸如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經

五九



爾時世尊說是經已。菩薩摩訶薩天人四衆及毘沙門天王等一切大衆。皆大歡喜信受奉行。

佛說一切如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經

## No. 1137 (Nos. 1133-1140)

失譯<sup>③</sup>人名<sup>④</sup>今附東晉錄

如是我聞。一時佛住摩竭提界寂滅道場菩提樹下。與比丘僧大衆俱集。其名曰大智舍利弗。長老目犍連。長老阿難。大聲聞等。及諸菩薩摩訶薩衆。金剛幢菩薩。金剛藏菩薩。彌勒菩薩。如是賢劫諸大菩薩摩訶薩衆。時執金剛神曰佛言。世尊如來應供正遍知者。如實知見是善方便陀羅尼呪光明威力。勢能摧滅一切諸惡。無復護者能作覆護。若遇一切惡緣知識。毒龍諸鬼夜叉羅刹。及多那若鳩槃荼人非人等。怖畏刀杖怨家橫害。邪

是時佛告執金剛神。善哉善哉執金剛神如汝所說。乃能如是爲衆生故勸請如來。汝今諦聽當爲汝說善法方便陀羅尼呪。爾時世尊卽說呪曰。

優鳩一茂鳩二摩毘<sup>9</sup>尼<sup>反</sup>三摩陀<sup>\*</sup>尼四婆羅  
遮隸五那休休梨越多莎呵六

是時如來應正遍知。說是莊嚴大頂勝王陀羅尼已。告執金剛。汝當如是憶念受持。如來今當更爲汝說。卽說呪曰

跋近唎一跋近<sup>四</sup>唎二跋近唎陀利三跋近唎婆  
帝<sup>四</sup>跋近唎陸帝五跋近唎達提六灼迦羅跋  
近唎七灼迦羅陀唎八陀唎九陀唎十婆<sup>四</sup>唎十一  
茂唎十二遮唎十三休休唎十四朋伽十五毘  
利十六唎唎十七唎十八噯噯<sup>四</sup>十九薩  
隸二十周唎二十一茂唎二十二曼茶唎二十三薩波  
波<sup>四</sup>毘除兒<sup>四</sup>二十鴉鴉兒比唎二十五摩唎三十呵多  
尼二十七婆唎二十八婆唎二十九婆地十跋提三十  
三十唎唎三十一噯娑唎三十二舍羅<sup>四</sup>三十三囉  
泥六十囉婆那唎曳<sup>三</sup>三十四<sup>反交</sup>摩遮唎<sup>四</sup>八十  
陀跋帝九十提提<sup>四</sup>羅耶<sup>四</sup>那謨摩醯首<sup>四</sup>羅耶  
尼四十利師<sup>四</sup>跋<sup>四</sup>跋尼<sup>四</sup>波波膽婆尼<sup>四</sup>四十柯柯  
羅婆提<sup>四</sup>四十浮多婆提五十薩謬<sup>四</sup>雅邪柯栴  
六十

呵囉一呵囉二嘻囉三

時執金剛卽白佛言。唯然世尊。我當受持。  
迦致多一波致多二阿夷那三呵喇膽達尼四柯  
葛旦尼五額修<sup>譯音</sup>阿阿<sup>譯音</sup>尼六末伽毘嚧阿尼  
七休婆婆帝八復婆婆帝九嚧<sup>譯音</sup>利十嚧利十一  
耶他嚧十三耶他忌尼十三耶他波爛迦十四耶  
他婆嚧檐十五耶他憐陀<sup>譯音</sup>檐十六

說是呪已告執金剛。如是善法陀羅尼呪如來所說。爲利一切諸衆生故。大慈悲故。我今當更爲汝說之。如昔如來應正遍知如是妙

說。去來今佛之所印可誠實不虛。爾時世尊即放大人眉間相光。遍照一切諸佛刹土。是光所照普能利益無量衆生。彼方諸佛見是光已。各從坐起咸共尋光來至忍土。至此土已同聲讚言。善哉釋迦牟尼世尊善能付囑利益安樂一切衆生。善哉善哉釋迦如來應正遍知。爲利一切諸衆生故。爲覆護故爲照明故。爲令衆生得歡喜故。說是善法陀羅尼呪。我等諸佛所說章句亦皆如是。善哉釋迦能廣施者。若善男子及善女人。聞是善法陀羅尼呪欲得利益。應於晨朝受持讀誦。卽爲我等諸佛所護。若有誦持此呪之處則爲吉祥。我等諸佛皆在中故。若諸衆生先來所造極重惡業皆滅無餘。能令此諸善男子等。具足獲得二十善利。一者現得長壽。二者舍宅安隱。三者名譽遠聞。四者現得尊貴。五者多

◎ 羅漢本，(佛說) — 〇 尼 + 呪 — 〇 〔人名〕 — 〇 〔今〕 — 元 〇 茶 = 茶 〇 杖 = 仗 〇 羅 = 厭 〇 尼 = 昵 〇 反 = 切 〇 咪 = 來 〇 嚩 = 嚩 〇 嚩 = 利 〇 茶 = 茶 〇 毘 + (那) 〇 波 = 婆 〇 羅 = 囉 〇 嚩 + (臂) 〇 阿 = 陀 〇 嚩 = 摺 〇



## Appendix B

### English Translations of the Scriptures

#### *The Invocation Ritual of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-span*<sup>704</sup>

---

*Kongō jumyō darani nenjuhō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法, T 1133, Vol.20.

Translated for imperial order, by the *śrāmaṇa* Amoghavajra (or [with?] Vajrabodhi),<sup>705</sup> the tripiṭaka master from Siṃhala, 'Commander Unequaled in Honour,' the Duke of Su with a fief of 3000 households, 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' who was given the official title of 'Minister of Works,' posthumously called the 'One of Great and Broad Wisdom' of the Da Xingshan monastery

According to the *Adamantine Pinnacle Yoga sūtra* (as I hear) now, *Sam̐bhogakāya* Vairocana buddha was in the fourth *samādhi* on the peak of the Form realm, and attained complete enlightenment, thereupon, he descended to the peak of Mt. Sumeru and to the Adamantine Treasure Tower. All the Tathāgatas of the complete voidness and universal dharmadhātu, gathered together and circumambulated (Vairocana) front and back, and (they said) in unison: 'Our only wish is that the World Honoured One turn the Wheel (of Dharma) of the Utmost Profound Secret. As they are called, the Wheel of the Adamantine Realm; the Wheel of the Instructions of Subduing the Three Periods [Trailokyavijaya]; the Wheel of the All Pervading Rite of Subduing (evil); and the Wheel of All Wishes Realized [Sarvārthasiddha, or Siddhārtha].' These (four) wheels thus came out of Vairocana's heart. Each of the wheels had thirty-seven worthies (āryas), who maintained the proper deportment of each of the mantras, samādhis and mudras. By (using) the Power of Compassion, both in the Buddha Realm mixed with defilements, and the most pure and wonderful realm, (they are) sometimes in a hidden way, and sometimes manifested, he turned the (four) wheels, and that brought blessing and joy and liberated the sentient beings, each in a different way.

After Vairocana Buddha received the request of all the buddhas, when he wanted to turn the wheel of the Dharma, at that moment he entered the *samādhi* where he saw Maheśvara, The Great Heavenly Being of the Unrestricted World, (who was) rigid and difficult to convert, because he was holding onto his wrong views. Only the calmness of the

---

<sup>704</sup> There are three versions used for this text in the *Taishōzō*: 1) (原) Korean *tripiṭaka* version; 2) (甲) Kūkai's *Sanjū jō sasshi* 三十帖冊子 version; 3) (乙) the revised and corrected version of Jōgon 淨嚴 (1639-1702) et al, Ōbaku (zen school) edition 黄檗版.

<sup>705</sup> In the Ōbaku edition '金剛智與' is added in the translator's remark. This suggests that Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi translated it together.

anātman and the great compassion [*mahākaruṇā*] could conquer him. At that time, the World Honoured One entered the Compassion and anger *samādhi*, and from his bosom came out a five pronged adamantine *bodhicitta* and poured out Trailokyavijaya Adamantine Bodhisattva's four faced, eight armed body, burning with majestic virtue and power, which is extraordinary and hard to see, saluting all around Vairocana buddha and all the buddhas. 'Please, teach me what to do and make.' So the Buddha told Trailokyavijaya: 'You now make all these hard to teach great deities surrender, (make them) take refuge in the many buddhas, *dharma* and *saṃgha*, and arouse the aspiration for Enlightenment.' By that, at that moment they surrendered. All of the deities without exception took refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the *saṃgha*. It was only Maheśvara, who is extraordinarily great and (equipped with) majestic power, who produced resistance. Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva with great difficulty subdued (him) and at that moment (Maheśvara) reached death. Thereupon, after Vairocana Buddha entered the *samādhi* of the Great Compassion, at that moment, he uttered the *dhāraṇī* of the adamantine life span; he moreover entered the *samādhi* of the adamantine life span and formed the secret mudra, and with his power he revived Maheśvara deity and increased his life-span. He took refuge in all of the buddhas, he attained the *abhiṣeka* (from Vairocana) and realized the eights stage (of the bodhisattva). The true words (mantra) of the adamantine life-span: *Om vajrāyuse* (adamantine life-span) *svāhā*.

The Buddha said to the *vajradhara* bodhisattvas: 'If there are good sons and daughters, who uphold and recite (this *dhāraṇī*) three times every day, and a thousand times every time, the short lives and untimely deaths, originating in the evil karma of the past, and by upholding this *dhāraṇī* (the evil karma) is purified by faith, the karmic obstructions are destroyed, and furthermore the life-span is increased. If (the sons and daughters) practice the *samādhi*, they will obtain the five transcendental faculties and the power to ascend to the air, and in this lifetime (achieves) that he should not be reborn in a physical body via parents. The gate of the *samādhi* expounds that (they should do) the lotus (sitting) position [*kekkaḥa*] and close (their) eyes, put the hands together forming the join mudrā, placing (the hands) under the navel, and thinking of the many buddhas in the air far and wide, and finally they (gain) clearness in their understanding, namely in their own body the thoughts and contemplations should be like the bright and transparent light of the full moon. On it, there is the shape of the five-pronged vajra, the form gradually increases to a life-size image. It changes and transforms into Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva, with Vairocana Buddha on (top of his) head, therefore from his whole body and all of (his) pores the *amṛta abhiṣeka* comes out, and pours into (their) own body and into (their) heart. Again, contemplate on Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, then form the *dhāraṇī mudrā* of the Adamantine life-span Bodhisattva, (by putting) the hands in the Adamantine Fist, with the right index finger pushing the left forming a hook, and placing (the hands) above the head. Recite the Adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī* seven times, place (the hands) above the forehead, separate the hands and join (them) together behind the neck, and extend two fingers straight, and turn (their) whole body into a position, like (they are) wearing an armour. The armour mantra says: *om dhām* ['holding' or 'bestowing'] *vajrāyuh*.

Because of this mudrā, (they will) obtain a body like a adamantine (which is) indestructible and free from all misfortunes, and those who look (at them) will be joyful and great respect will be awakened in them. Next, it explains the ritual sphere of the homa (rite for) avoiding misfortune and increasing the life (span). Settle in a pure room. At the east area, place an image of the Adamantine Life-span Bodhisattva, hang many banners and canopies. In front of the image, make a square ritual sphere which is three elbows (wide).

Dig deep and remove the roof tiles, stones, bones, ashes, all the defiled objects. If there are no more (defiled objects) in that soil, go back and fill it up with old soil. If there is surplus in the soil, that is the sign of great good omen. It is easy to accomplish this method. If there are unclean things, then take the pure soil from both banks of the river [Ganges], fill it up to be evenly levelled, sprinkle and mix with many scents and cover the *gomatī* (cow dung). At the centre of the ritual sphere draw a adamantine armour with white powder, one and a half elbows (wide). In the middle dig a furnace, half an elbow deep, and (make) an edge around it. Those, who do not wish to dig, place a fire hearth. The people who practice, sit in front of the fire hearth. In the four sides of the ritual sphere (place) the veneration drink and food, many fruits, etc. In the four corners place flasks, in the hearth (place) charcoals. First, prepare resinous wood, which are ten fingers in length, twenty-one (of them, each a) thumb thick. As for its stems, immerse both of its ends in butter curd. Recite the Adamantine life-span mantra. Throw (the wood) in the fire, after the zenith of the burning is finished, imagine in the fire an eight petal lotus flower and visualize in the fire. In the womb of the flower the character ‘A’ (阿) will appear, brightly lit up, this becomes the Adamantine life-span Bodhisattva. Next, with the four characters of the four emblems, the Instructor bodhisattva enters the fire hearth, and receives the many veneration, and with (his) right hand (he forms) the half adamantine mudrā, and by pouring water (he will) make the fire pure. Next, take a vessel and fill with butter and push one stem of skeletal grass the butter. Recite the Adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī* once, then throw (the butter) in the fire. Or even one hundred and eight stems or one thousand and eight stems. Next, throw (the stems in the fire), burn various incenses and dairy products. Finish reciting, and with three full scoops, pour the butter into the fire. And (do) just like this from beginning to end. If possible, do this veneration in the three auspicious months, or on (one’s) own birthday, and they can avoid misfortunes, and (have) benefits and (increase) the life-span, the country/region will be safe and peaceful, and there will be no all kinds of misfortunes, sickness/epidemics, the winds and rains will be in a proper time, and all the sages and saints will help and protect those people.

*The Invocation Ritual of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-span*

## *Ritual of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span*<sup>706</sup>

---

*Kongō jumyō darani kyōhō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經法, T 1134A, Vol.20.

Translated by the *tripiṭaka* master, 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' the One of Great in Explaining and of Broad Wisdom'

At that time, Vairocana buddha was in the fourth heaven on the peak of the Form realm, and attained complete enlightenment, thereupon, he descended to the peak of Mt. Sumeru and at the Adamantine Treasure Tower all the *Tathāgatas* filled up the sky to its furthest extant, pervading the entire universe, and circumambulated (Vairocana) front and back, and (they said) in unison: 'World Honoured One, please, if it is alright, turn the wheels of Truth of Profound Secret. As they are called, the Wheel of the Adamantine Realm; the Wheel of the Instructions of Subduing the Three Periods; the Wheel of the All Pervading Rite of Subduing (evil); and the Wheel of Completing All the Meanings.' And just these [four] wheels came out of Vairocana's heart. Each of the wheels had 37 worthies [*āryas*], who maintained proper deportment in terms of each of the mantras, *samādhis* and mudras. By [using] the Power of Compassion, both in the Buddha Realm mixed with defilements, and the pure and wonderful realm, sometimes in a hidden way, and sometimes in an obvious way, he turned the [four] wheels, and those brought ease and liberation to sentient beings, each in a different way.

After Vairocana Buddha received the request of all the buddhas, when he wanted to turn the wheel of the Dharma, at that moment he entered the *samādhi* where he saw that Maheśvara, The Great Heavenly Being of the Unrestricted World, was hard to preach to, he was holding onto his wrong views. "Not even my quiescence compassion body could overcome (Maheśvara and his wrong views)." At that time, the World Honoured One entered the *Samādhi of Compassion and Anger*, and from his bosom came out a five pronged adamantine *bodhicitta* and poured out Trailokyavijaya Adamantine Bodhisattva's four faced, eight armed body, burning with virtue and power, which is commendable and hard to see, saluting all around Vairocana buddha and all the buddhas. 'I wish you, World-Honoured One, would teach me what to do!' So the Buddha told Trailokyavijaya: 'You now make all these hard to teach deities surrender, (make them) take refuge in the many buddhas, *dharma* and *saṃgha*, and arouse the aspiration for Enlightenment.' By that, at that moment they surrendered. All of the deities without exception took refuge in the buddhas, *dharma* and *saṃgha*. Only Maheśvara (did not take refuge), who wished for great virtues and power, and opposed by keeping his distance. Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva (made him) suffer, and subdued (him with great difficulty), and at that moment (Maheśvara) reached death. With his right (leg) he stepped on the Great Deity [Maheśvara], with his left (leg) he stepped on the Goddess [Ūmā]. Thereupon, after Vairocana Buddha entered the *Samādhi of the Great Compassion*, at that moment, he explained the *dhāraṇī* of the adamantine life span, he moreover entered the *Samādhi of the adamantine life span* and formed the secret *mudrā*, and with his power he revived Maheśvara and returned him to his original state. (Maheśvara's) life span was increased, he took refuge in all of the buddhas, he aroused the *bodhicitta*. He


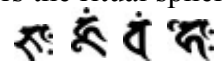
---

<sup>706</sup> The *Taishōzō* used two versions of this scripture: 1) (原) the Kyōwa 1<sup>st</sup> year edition treasured at the Buzan University 豊山大学 (today Taishō University 大正大学); 2) (甲) the Ten'ei 1<sup>st</sup> year copy, treasured at the Kōzanji temple 高山寺.

obtained *abhiṣeka* (from Vairocana) and realized the eighth stage (of the bodhisattva). The true words [*mantra*] of the adamantine life span: **ॐ वज्रयुषं वीर** *Oṃ vajrāyushe* ['adamantine life-span'] *svāhā*.

The Buddha said to Vajradhara bodhisattva: 'If there are good sons and daughters, who uphold and recite (this *dhāraṇī*) three times every day, and a thousand times every time, the short lives and early deaths, originating in the evil karma of the past and present, and by upholding this mantra [the evil karma] is purified by faith, the karmic obstructions are destroyed, and the life is increased. If [the sons and daughters] practice the *samādhi*, they will obtain the five transcendental faculties in this lifetime, without transforming the body they got from their parents, and go freely wherever they want. Next [the Buddha] expounded the principle of the *samādhi*. (They should) sit in the lotus position [*kekkaṇḍa*], close their eyes, do the proper demeanour, place their two hands one upon the other and form the *dhyāna mudrā*. Place (their hands) under the navel. Contemplate on the many buddhas in the sky everywhere, to obtain a complete and clear understanding, and in oneself that heart should be above, meditating on the clearness and penetrating nature of the light of the pure full moon. There is the form of the five pronged adamantine above, expanding its burning gradually until it becomes as big as yourself, and transforms into Trailokyavijaya Adamantine Bodhisattva, with Vairocana buddha on its head, and from the Buddha's body, from every pore, the *amṛta* comes out (naturally) and flows together in themselves. Next, in the mind again (they should) contemplate on the Adamantine Being Bodhisattva (who has) the primary and secondary marks (of the Buddha's body) with extraordinary superb power. Next, form the secret *mudrā* of the armour, empowered by the adamantine life-span, (by) putting each of the two hands into adamantine fists, with effort the right pushes the left which is like a hook, put it on top of the head and recite the long life mantra seven times. Place (the hands) in front of the forehead, separate the hands and clasp them at the neck. After it is clasped at the neck, with effort straighten them out and move them like a ring. Bring it down to the heart, interweaving, in a position like they would tie an armour (on themselves). Next place it behind your back and clasp them again, draw them closer to the navel, both knees and the back hip. They should be at the level of the heart, the two shoulders, in front of the nape, behind the head, and again in front of the forehead placed and clasped together behind the nape, and gradually suspend the two hands in the adamantine fists. Slowly drop them like a suspending belt. They should recite the mantra, which makes them as if they were wearing an armour protecting their body as an armour. The mantra says: **ॐ हं वज्रयुः** *oṃ dhām* ['holding' or 'bestowing'] *vajrāyuh*.

Through forming the secret mudra (they will be) empowered by a power that (their) body will be like adamantine: solid and hard to destroy. They will be free of the various calamities and those who see them will be joyful. All the common people will have awakened great respect for them. Next (the Buddha) expounded the secret of the *homa* (rite). The ritual is said to avoid calamities, prolong lifetime, gain benefits, it is auspicious, abundant, eloquent and unobstructed. And (to avoid) the difficulties of diseases, storms, etc. By performing this ritual, all the wishes will be fulfilled. There are four kinds of *homa* ritual ritual spheres, that is to say: square, round, triangular, and (the form of the) lotus flower. In accord with what they want / desire, they should sit on the (proper) side. The principal image is to be drawn based on this ritual. The ritual sphere of the ritual is painted, just like it is explained in the remaining sections. I will now briefly expound the dharma of building this ritual sphere for the avoiding of calamities and prolongation of life. A room is (to be) purified, and an elbow deep (hole) is (to be) dug. Get rid of the cast of defilements, impure things,

ashes, bones, tiles and rocks. Fill it up with pure land, make a square ritual sphere measuring three elbows in width. The *gomatī* [cow dung] is painted and decorated like a clean mirror surface, while you are digging the soil as if you find a surplus treasure, this is a great and extraordinary sign. That which is sought after, the various desires are speedily obtained and achieved. If there are different matters / other objects, the pure land of the river bank should be taken to fill this up, level out just as it is prescribed. By means of various scents the *gomatī* is softened, and repeatedly painted and decorated. On the middle of the ritual sphere, with white powder make an adamantine armour of one and a half elbows. In the centre, dig an elbow (deep) fire hearth, or half an elbow deep in which manner is appropriate. If it is not possible to dig this, take a fire hearth and place it at the centre of the ritual sphere, and (they should) also obtain a seal, a seat, a flower, a rim, and depending on the seat, create this (ritual sphere). The ritual sphere is already finished, hang various banners. Place Trailokyavijaya Adamantine Bodhisattva's image, and spread in the four corners the offerings of things (such as) flowers, fruits, food and drinks. Put the *homa* herbs in front of the practitioner. Again, put the four flower vases in the four corners of the ritual sphere. Face the principal object of worship and recite according to the prescribed way. First, prepare resinous wood, measuring roughly ten fingers long, twenty-one, (each a) thumb thick. In the fire braze the two ends should be immersed into the curd, (make) an abundantly blazing coal fire. Recite the long life *mantra* and empower the fire with wood. At every recitation throw one in the fire. When the fire has already finished blazing, in the light of the flames visualize an eight petal lotus flower. In the womb (of the flower), one should see the syllable  *yuh*. The radiance receives and invites the bodhisattva, who descends and enters the ritual sphere and receives the various offerings. The four-character secret word say:  *jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ*.

And by forming the half adamantine mudra with the right hand, by means of sprinkling water purifying the fire, next take a bowl full of melted butter, take a thousand and eight stalks of skeletal grass, or a hundred and eight stalks, and immerse them in the curd. Recite the long life *mantra*, in accordance with the number of the grass, at every recitation throw one in that fire. Throw until all is exhausted. Next again, throw and burn various scents and butter curd (*dadhi*). Just like before, finish the chanting and offering food in the same time and pour a whole spoonful of curd into the fire. (They should do) from beginning to end, just like this. If it is possible make this offering during the three auspicious months or on one's own birth month, or even birthday. (They will be able) to avoid calamities and increase (their) life-span. (They will be) endowed with great fortune and wisdom, excellent aspiration and completeness. They will be (always in) high positions in their official (career), wherever and in every situation, (even if they) go and come, or (even if they are) in or out. All will be suitable for riches, abundant wealth and treasures. If you are looking for a man or a woman or wisdom, they should wait until there is a eclipse, and that is when they should wear and hold the cow dung. And obtain if empowered the nine knots of bitterroot, it makes the smoke warm and light, etc. and the three aspects will manifest. And (if they) take it and wear it (on their body), their wish will be fulfilled. Recite ten thousand (times) a day the eloquent words and unobstructed teachings. If (you) seek the way to ascend into the air, to disappear and appear as you wish, by bovine-bile they should be, following the previously prescribed way, immediately empowered. After the manifestation of the three aspects, paint their legs, and (paint) a dot on the forehead. They will wander freely in the air. If you are looking for all the other desires, just do it as you think, based on the appendix, and they will all be achieved, there will be none that is not achieved. And the land is made peaceful, and there will be no calamities, the winds and rains will be in an auspicious time, the people will have peace of mind, all the wise people's bodies will be embraced and protected (by the buddhas). The

explanation of its benefits cannot be exhausted. Endowed with a detailed explanation just like in the Yoga sūtra, if (one) performs the ritual of avoiding calamities and prolonging life, facing north, (one) should sit and make a circular ritual sphere, contemplate on all the various enlightened ones, their bodies all white in colour, they wear white clothes, and offer them white food. The various offerings and apparatus are all white, and burn *agaru* incense. If (one) performs the remainder ritual of increasing benefits and riches, face east, sit, (contemplate on) the bodies and the holy honoured ones, and (their) bodies in monastic robes, and offer food, fruits in bowls, all yellow in colour, and burn sandalwood incense. If (one) performs the ritual of subjugation, face north, sit, (contemplate on their) bodies and the principal image, offer monastic robes, all dark bluish black in colour, and burn Persian incense. If (one) performs the ritual of affection, face west, sit, (contemplate on their) bodies and the principal image, offer monastic robes, all red in colour, and burn curd incense. The syllable यः *yuh* is the seed syllable of Samantabhadra of Long Life.

*Ritual of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-Span*

## Postscript

Ritual – old section – two volumes. It is enclosed in the box of the *Great Ming tripiṭaka*. The *Invocation Ritual of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-span*, is a sūtra translated by the *tripiṭaka* master Amoghavajra, joined with Vajrabodhi. This scripture is the same version bestowed (by them). But many (parts) are omitted. I acquired it now, in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Ten'ei 天永 (1110). In the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Enpo 延宝 (1676). In the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Tenmei 天明 (1781). Three of this volume is at the Chishakuin 智積院, with the revision of Jijun sōjō 慈順僧正, (who) wrote down the foremost differences, and this work caused him to (obtain) long life. This volume is the import of the three masters Kūkai [遍照金剛], Ennin [慈覺] and Enchin [智證]. (It is) truly an excellent scripture. The time is the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Kyōwa 享和 (1801), autumn, 8<sup>th</sup> month, 21<sup>st</sup> night. Compared by lamplight. Recorded by the tripiṭaka master Kaidō 快道 Sōjiin temple 總持院 of the Buzan 豐山 (Shingon) tradition. Here ends the addition. Kyōwa 享和, the beginning of summer, the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> (month). Jijun 慈順.

## *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-span*<sup>707</sup>

---

*Kongō jumyō darani kyō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經, T 1134B, Vol.20.

Translated by imperial decree by the tripiṭaka master, 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' the One of Great in Explaining and of Broad Wisdom'

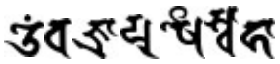
At that time, Vairocana Buddha was in the fourth *samādhi* on the peak of the Form realm, and attained complete enlightenment, thereupon, he descended to the peak of Mt. Sumeru and at the Adamantine Treasure Tower. All the *Tathāgatas* of the complete voidness and universal *dharmadhātu*, gathered together and circumambulated (Vairocana) front and back, and (they said) in unison: 'Our only wish is that the World Honoured One turn the Wheel of Dharma of the Utmost Profound Secret. As they are called, the Wheel of the Adamantine Realm; the Wheel of the Instructions of Subduing the Three Periods [*trailokya-vijaya*]; the Wheel of the All Pervading Rite of Subduing (evil); and the Wheel of All Wishes Realized [*Sarvārthasiddha*, or *Siddhārtha*].' These (four) wheels thus came out of Vairocana's heart. Each of the wheels had 37 worthies [*āryas*], who maintained the proper deportment of each of the *mantras*, *samādhis* and *mudrās*. By (using) the Power of Compassion, both in the Buddha Realm mixed with defilements, and the most pure and wonderful realm, (they are) sometimes in a hidden way, and sometimes manifested, he turned the (four) wheels, and that brought blessing and joy and liberated the sentient beings, each in a different way.

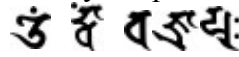
After Vairocana Buddha received the request of all the buddhas, when he wanted to turn the wheel of the Dharma, at that moment he entered *samādhi* where he saw Maheśvara, The Great Heavenly Being of the Unrestricted World, (who was) rigid and difficult to convert, because he was holding onto his wrong views. The calmness of *anatman* and the great compassion [*mahākaruṇā*] could conquer him only. At that time, the World Honoured One entered the Compassion and anger *samādhi*, and from his bosom came out a five pronged adamantine *bodhicitta* and poured out Trailokyavijaya Adamantine Bodhisattva's four faced, eight armed body, burning with majestic virtue and power, which is extraordinary and hard to see, saluting all around Vairocana buddha and all the buddhas. 'Please, teach me what to do and make.' So the Buddha told Trailokyavijaya: 'You now make all these hard to teach great deities surrender, (make them) take refuge in the many buddhas, dharma and *saṃgha*, and arouse the aspiration for Enlightenment.' By that, at that moment they surrendered. All of the deities without exception took refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the *saṃgha*. It was only Maheśvara, who is extraordinarily great and (equipped with) majestic power, who produced resistance. Trailokyavijaya Bodhisattva with great difficulty subdued (him and) even made them reach death. With his right (leg) he stepped on the Great Deity [Maheśvara], with his left (leg) he stepped on the Goddess [Ūmā]. Thereupon, after Vairocana Buddha entered the *Samādhi of Great Compassion*, at that moment, he uttered the *dhāraṇī* of the adamantine life span; he moreover entered the *Samādhi of the Adamantine Life-span* and formed the secret mudra, and with his power he revived Maheśvara deity and doubled his life-span. He took refuge in all of the buddhas, he aroused the *bodhicitta*. He attained the *abhiṣeka* (from Vairocana) and realized the eights stage (of the bodhisattva).


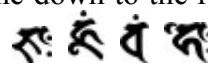
---

<sup>707</sup> The *Taishōzō* used one version of this scripture: the Kyōwa 1<sup>st</sup> year edition treasured at the Hasedera temple 長谷寺.



The true words (mantra) of the adamantine life span:  *Om vajrāyusē*  
[‘adamantine life-span’] *svāhā*.

The Buddha said to the Vajradhara bodhisattvas: ‘If there are good sons and daughters, who uphold and recite (this *dhāraṇī*) three times every day, and a thousand times every time, the short lives and early deaths, originating in the evil karma of the past and present, and by upholding this *mantra* (the evil karma) is purified by faith, the karmic obstructions are destroyed, and the life-span is increased. If (the sons and daughters) practice the *samādhi*, they will obtain the five transcendental faculties and the power to ascend to the air, and in this lifetime (achieves) that he should not be reborn in a physical body via parents. Next they should say the *dhāraṇī* that protects them as an armour:  *om dhām*  
[‘holding’ or ‘bestowing’] *vajrāyuh*

Next (they should) contemplate the syllable  *yuh*. The light that brightly illuminate everything, transforms into the great adamantine life-span bodhisattva. Next use these four characters to clearly lead and invite the bodhisattva to come down to the ritual sphere and receive the offerings. The four character secret word says:  *jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ*.

At that time, the masses heard the Buddha, and accepted (what he preached) with faith and upheld it.

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-span*

## Postscript

Enpō 延宝 4<sup>th</sup> year (1676) 5<sup>th</sup> month, I copied the scripture treasured at (Mt.) Toganoō [Kōzanji temple 高山寺]. The *vinaya* master Jōgon 浄嚴 copied the scripture of the Eshinin temple 慧心院 in Uji. This year Jinin 慈忍 [Jijun’s other name] was ordered to copy this after obtaining it. It was printed with collation and comparison. The complete scripture is the abbreviated version of the previous scripture(s). For it is irresistible, it should only be shown to the essential eyes. It is not a separate scripture.

Written by Kaidō 快道 lodging, and fatigued by the explanation, at the Hasedera temple 長谷寺 of the Yamato country 和州.

Finished adding the collations (in the Kyōwa 享和) *mizunotoi* year (1803) 4<sup>th</sup> month 6<sup>th</sup> day. Jijun 慈順.

***Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-span of All Buddhas,  
Preached by the Buddha***<sup>708</sup>

---

*Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō* 佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經,

T 1135, Vol.20.

Translated for imperial order, by the *śrāmaṇa* Amoghavajra, the *tripitaka* master from Siṃhala, of the Da Xingshan monastery, 'Commander Unequalled in Honour,' the Duke of Su with a fief of 3000 households, 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' who was given the official title of 'Minister of Works,' posthumously called the 'One of Great and Broad Wisdom'

Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was on the bank of the River Ganges, with a multitude of *bhikṣu* monks and great bodhisattvas, heavenly beings incalculable in numbers. At that time, the World Honoured One told the Caturmahārāja [Four Heavenly Kings or Guardians], such as Vaiśravaṇa, that,

'There are four kinds of dharma, which are greatly/immensely feared. Be they men or women, sons or daughters, among all sentient beings nobody can avoid it. (These are) the so-called birth, old age, sickness and death. Among these (four) there is only one dharma which most generally afflicts (people) and is hard to control. That is called the fear of death. I have compassion for this and that is why I preach the dharma of subjugation (of this fear).'

At that time the Caturmahārāja said to the Buddha:

'World Honoured One, today, by obtaining the great benefit, we only wish World Honoured One, that for the sake of the sentient beings, please explain this dharma.'

At that time, the World Honoured One looked towards the East, and by snapping (his) fingers summoned all the *Tathāgatas*, and made this vow:

'All the *Tathāgatas* of the ten directions, who fulfil the highest wisdom [*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*] and who, for the sake of the sentient beings, proclaimed the *bodhicitta*, all help me! By the supernatural powers of all the *Tathāgatas*, let me make all the sentient beings turn the karma of untimely death, and make the life-span be increased. I have never turned this dharma wheel for the sake of the sentient beings before. I am turning it now, and it made the sentient beings' life-span, appearance and strength achieve fulfilment, and avoid the fear of dying young. And the South, the West, the North, the East, the four inter-cardinal directions (Northeast, Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest), and

---

<sup>708</sup> The *Taishōzō* used two versions of this scripture: 1) (原) Korean *tripitaka* version; 2) (甲) the revised and corrected version of Jōgon 淨嚴 et al, Ōbaku (zen school) edition 黄檗版.

(the directions of) up and down [these are the ten directions], should all gather and be also informed about this new method.’

At that time, the ten directions, wherever the eye of the Buddha reached, all the *Tathāgatas* of the so many worlds went in that direction and gathered, and they filled the air, in their number being as many as grains of dust.

At that time, all the buddhas, by the empowerment, said and preached in unison the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī* of all the *Tathāgatas*:

‘What is called a goddess of destiny, which is immovable and yet movable, and which is humble, which possesses *cakraniga*’s sacred aspects. Strike out, all sicknesses of all beings. Oh *nati* (scented trees), *kunati* (herbs), great *nati*. That which is full of life, that which is full of life, the summit of snow. white snow, that which possesses the glory of snow, the top of the snow, which is awe inspiring, awe inspiring, Oh *kurara* (medicine tree), *kurara*, *kumati*, that which possesses the supreme *manī*, that which possesses powerful light, that which is immovable, away from transitions, do not lean, *humu*, *humu*. *Oṃ macarāyoṣi* (*vajrāyoṣi*) *svāhā*.’<sup>709</sup>

At that time, all the Vajradhara Bodhisattvas of the buddha places of the ten directions also preached the long-life *dhāraṇī* in unison: ‘*Hum*, *hum*, mountain peak, *svāhā*.’<sup>710</sup>

Just like this, all the *Tathāgatas* and all the Vajradhara Bodhisattvas of the ten directions, finished preaching this *dhāraṇī*, and hid, and did not manifest (themselves again).

At that time, Vaiśravaṇa said to the Buddha:

‘I, with the power of the buddhas, preach this *dhāraṇī*, for the empowerment and protecting thought for the sentient beings, and for them to avoid untimely death: ‘That which is white, that which is white, *le*, *li*, *li*.’

At that time Virūdhaka Heavenly King [Jp. Zōchōten 增長天], again said to the Buddha:

‘I, again, with the supernatural powers of the buddhas, preach this *dhāraṇī* so the many sentient beings avoid dying young: ‘Goddess, Goddess, Goddess, strike out, strike out.’

At that time, Dhṛtarāṣṭra Heavenly King [Jp. Jikokuten 持国天], again, said to the Buddha:

‘I, again, preach this *dhāraṇī* so the many sentient beings avoid the fear of death: ‘Oh, that which ' is full of life, that which is full of life, *svāhā*.’

---

<sup>709</sup> Translation from Hatsuzaki 1968: 58-59. Hatsuzaki translated one of the extant Tibetan versions. In this version, however, the last mantra is probably not included, because Hatsuzaki’s translation ends with the *humu*, *humu*. I added the last mantra, which is different in the two version used in the *Taishōzō*: the Korean version says *macarāyoṣi*, a probable misspelling, but in the Ōbaku version it says the usual *vajrāyoṣi*, one of the versions of the adamantine life-span in Sanskrit.

<sup>710</sup> *Ibid*. This, and the next four mantras may differ in the Chinese version.

At that time Virūpakṣa Heavenly King [Jp. Kōmokuten 広目天] said to the Buddha:

‘I, again, with the powers of the buddhas, make all the sentient beings avoid dying young by preaching the *dhāraṇī*: ‘To powerful one, *va, va.*’

The Buddha said to the Caturmahārāja: ‘If (the sentient beings) read and recite this *sūtra*, and keep (this practice) every day or even just only once, he or she will be respected as a good son and good daughter (i.e. the discipline of the Buddha), and they accept the Buddha’s thoughts, in the end, they will not be reborn in the three wrong paths, and without doubt they will increase (their) life-span. If men read and recite this *sūtra* for the sake of all sentient beings, in the end, the fear of dying young and of a short life will be gone, and the fear of bad dreams, death by curse and fearsome *rakshasas* and demons, will be gone as well, nor will there be any injuries of water, fire, weapons and poisons. All the buddhas and bodhisattvas will embrace and protect their place. And they (as individuals) will also be the protected by all the Tathāgatas.’

At that time, the World Honoured One finished preaching this *sūtra*. All the assembly, with Vaiśravaṇa and others, rejoiced greatly and accepted (this *sūtra*) with faith and carried (it) out.

*Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Adamantine Life-span of All Buddhas, Preached by the Buddha*<sup>711</sup>

---

<sup>711</sup> In the Ōbaku edition there is also a colophon that says: ‘Jōkyō 貞享 3<sup>rd</sup> year (1686), 9<sup>th</sup> month, 17<sup>th</sup> day. Jōgon 淨嚴 (48 years old) finished the correction and adding the marks. Genroku 元禄 16<sup>th</sup> year (1703), 1<sup>st</sup> month, 29<sup>th</sup> day. I finished re-correcting the High Priest Jōgon’s 淨嚴 (correction) of this volume. Sonkyō 尊教 (d.u.)

***Sūtra of the Most Victorious Adamantine Dhāraṇī of  
Samantabhadra Bodhisattva of Long Life, Empowered by the Light of the  
Minds of All Buddhas, Preached by the Buddha***<sup>712</sup>

*Bussetsu issai shonyoraishin kōmyō Samantabhadra enmei saishō darani kyō*

佛說一切諸如來心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經, T 1136, Vol.20.

Translated by the *śrāmaṇa* Amoghavajra, the *tripitaka* master from Siṃhala, of the Da Xingshan monastery, 'Commander Unequaled in Honour,' the Duke of Su with a fief of 3000 households, 'Specially Promoted Probationary Chief of Court of State Ceremonial,' who was given the official title of 'Minister of Works,' posthumously called the 'One of Great and Broad Wisdom'

Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was on the bank of the River Ganges with a multitude of great *bhikṣu* monks, bodhisattvas, *mahāsattvas* and heavenly beings. At that time Samantabhadra bodhisattva was in the assembly, abiding in the secret *samādhi* of the *Tathāgatas*. He emerged out of the *samādhi*, and showed great supernatural powers. Empowered by the *Tathāgatas*, he preached the adamant life-span *dhāraṇī*, which allows the lives of all sentient beings to be lengthened, so that they do not die before their time or a violent death. And it also allows (them) [the sentient beings] to obtain the firmness and indestructibility of the adamant life-span, to achieve enlightenment, and to reach the stage of non-retrogression. At that time, the World Honoured One turned the light in the heart, and summoned buddhas as numerous as the sand in the River Ganges from the worlds in the ten directions, and filled the sky with them. Every one (of those *Tathāgatas*) gave off light like Indra's net. As their light illuminated Samantabhadra it made him preach the Adamantine Life-span *Sūtra*.

At that time, Samantabhadra acquired the heart seal of all buddhas, and dwelled at the *Samādhi of the adamant life-span*. The pores of his body gave off innumerable light that equalled in number to the particles of dust, and expanded throughout the worlds in the ten directions. With unobstructed supernatural powers he was preaching. The *dhāraṇī*, said,

‘What is called a goddess of destiny, which is immovable and yet movable, and which is humble, which possesses *cakrārigā*'s sacred aspects. Strike out, all sicknesses of all beings. Oh *naṭi* [scented trees], *kunaṭi* [herbs], great *naṭi*. That which is full of life, that which is full of life, the summit of snow. White snow, that which possesses the glory of snow, the top of the snow, which is awe inspiring, awe inspiring. Oh *kurara* (medicine tree), *kurara*, *kumati*, that which possesses the supreme *maṇi*, that which possesses powerful light, that which is

---

<sup>712</sup> The *Taishōzō* used one version of this scripture: 1) (原) the old copy treasured at the Sanmitsuzō 三密藏 (the *sūtra* repository of the Hōbōdaiin temple 宝菩提院) of the Tōji temple 東寺.

immovable, away from transitions, do not lean, *humu, humu. Oṃ vajrāyūse svāhā.*' <sup>713</sup>

After the *dhāraṇī* was preached, the earth, the mountains, the rivers all shook and trembled, hell was crushed, the palaces (in the heavens) shook, and at the same time, the sentient beings, who were sick and suffering, recovered. Among the gathering there were the innumerable *Vajradharas*, they also preached (the *dhāraṇī*) in unison, and the great bodhisattvas and *mahāsattvas* all helped prolong (the sentient beings') lives, they preached the *dhāraṇī*, and allowed (them) [the sentient beings] to acquire the adamantine life-span.

At that time, the *Tathāgatas* of the worlds in the ten directions, as numerous as the number of sand in the River Ganges, empowered Samantabhadra and the Four Heavenly Kings with their mind seal, and made them increase and attain the adamantine life-span.

At that time, the World Honoured One snapped his fingers and praised (Samantabhadra), saying: 'You with joy and goodwill benefit the sentient beings very well. Suppose there are good sons and daughters who experience fear, early or accidental death, and unfortunate things. If they take a bath, wear new and pure clothes, burn incense, scatter flowers, and if they uphold my mantra of extending life in their mind, then their life is increased. Suppose there are sentient beings who suffer from illness, by wishing long life they are released from the suffering of illness. So if they build an ritual sphere, in a pure household or Buddhist temple, invite twenty-one immaculate *bhikṣu* monks, each of them recite this *sūtra* forty-nine times, and in addition this *dhāraṇī* a hundred thousand times, then they will obtain (long) life. So the beings themselves who are suffering from illness, in their dreams at night will have a marvellous realm [or *Sudarśana*'s region, Mt. Sumeru?]. I, in the ritual of long life, first should draw a colourful image of Samantabhadra. His form is like the Prince of the Full Moon, with a Five-Buddha crown on his head. In his right hand, he holds a vajra, and in his left an all-summoning vajra-bell. His hair is tied up and he wears a robe loosely, and sits on a thousand petal jewel lotus flower. Under [this flower] there is a white elephant king, which has three heads. A single-prong vajra is folded in each of its trunks, and each head has six tusks. This elephant stands on a great vajra-wheel with four legs, and under the wheel there are 5000 elephants, each carrying the wheel on their backs. The body of the bodhisattva gives off hundred rays of precious light, outside the light a white moon-ring is formed, and this image is covered with colourful adornments and a ritual sphere is built on a pure place. I will have the pure monks uphold this mantra, and recite this *sūtra* and even copy them, and uphold the adamantine life-span *dhāraṇī* 100 thousand times, all for the purpose of increasing the life-span and avoiding untimely death.

At that time, the Four Heavenly Kings, empowered by the Buddha, each made a vow in order to assist Samantabhadra, prolonger of life. In the southern (continent) of the *sahā* world, Jambūdvīpa which is the only to have places where the teachings of this *sūtra* are carried out, we, the Four Kings, will bind ourselves together to protect and make sure that there is no untimely death. If there is a pure ritual sphere of this *sūtra*, and if we do not descend there, I vow that I will lose my light, and I decrease my retribution. We will retrogress from our *bodhicitta* and do not attain liberation.

---

<sup>713</sup> Translation is the same as that of the previous scripture. It is from Hatsuzaki 1968: 58-59. I added the last *mantra*, according to this text.

At that time, the Tathāgatas of the ten directions empowered all the Vajradharas, and they again preached in unison the *dhāraṇī* of prolongation of life: *Oṃ vajrāyūse huṃ huṃ śikhi svāhā*.<sup>714</sup>

After preaching like this, all the Tathāgatas and the Vajradharas of the ten directions disappeared into the sky and vanished.

At that time, Bishamonten said to the Buddha: ‘World Honoured One, with the aid of the buddhas’ supernatural powers and the empowerment and protecting thoughts for avoiding untimely death, I preach this *dhāraṇī*: *Oṃ vajrāyūse śvete śvete śve la li li svāhā*.

After preaching this *dhāraṇī*, it was for the purpose of having all the sentient beings obtain the (adamantine) life-span and avoid unnatural death.

At that time, Virūdhaka Heavenly King said to the Buddha: ‘World Honoured One, again with the supernatural powers of the buddhas, I preach the *dhāraṇī* of long life, saying: *Oṃ vajrāyūse mātaṅge mātaṅge mātaṅge śūma śūma svāhā*.

After preaching this *dhāraṇī* they obtained the (adamantine) life-span because they avoided unnatural death.

At that time Virūpakṣa Heavenly King said to the Buddha: ‘World Honoured One, with the supernatural powers of the buddhas, I help preaching the *dhāraṇī* of long life, saying: *Oṃ vajrāyūse care care care re*.

Preaching this *dhāraṇī* it made all the sentient beings obtain the adamant life-span since [they avoided] unnatural death.

At that time Dhṛtarāṣṭra Heavenly King said to the Buddha: ‘World Honoured One, I again, with the supernatural powers of the buddhas, preach the *dhāraṇī* of long life, saying: *Oṃ vajrāyūse balini vaḥ vaḥ vaḥ svāhā*.

After preaching this *dhāraṇī*, it made all the sentient beings obtain the adamant life-span since (they avoided) unnatural death.

At that time, the Buddha said to the Four heavenly Kings: ‘If there are sentient beings who fear the difficulty of death, suffering from illness or having unnatural death, and if they have these kinds of suffering, if they only copy this sūtra, uphold and recite it, and in addition uphold this *dhāraṇī*, or draw the image of Samantabhadrayū, do this ritual on the first, eighth, fifteenth days of the month, build a ritual sphere and burn forty-nine lanterns, put flowers, incense, fruits, and medicine, each in sixteen bowls, and scatter them on the ritual sphere, put their hands together, do worship, praise out loud this *dhāraṇī*, and repent their faults in the past, then they will not be reborn in the three evil paths. If they renounce this body, they will obtain the adamant life-span and will not be born again. If there are *bhikṣuṇīs* and the four kinds of Buddhist disciples who recite this sūtra, and do not neglect it, then they will be free from the fear of short life, and unnatural death, the bad dreams at night, death by curse, maledictions, and fearsome like *rakshasas*, birds’ calls, the hundred goblins. They will also be free from the bodily harms and injuries of water, fire, weapons and poisons. All the

---

<sup>714</sup> I have transliterated this, and the next four mantras from Chinese to Sanskrit.

buddhas and great bodhisattvas will embrace and protect them. And again, they will gain the protection of the buddhas.

At that time, when the World Honoured One finished preaching this sūtra, the bodhisattvas, *mahāsattvas*, heavenly beings, the four kinds of Buddhist disciples and Bishamonten, and all the other great crowd rejoiced greatly and accepted (this *sūtra*) with faith and carried (it) out.

*Sūtra of the Most Victorious Adamantine Dhāraṇī of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva of Long Life, Empowered by the Light of the Minds of All Buddhas, Preached by the Buddha*



# Bibliography

## Collections and Reference Works

---

- Bussho kaisetsu dai jiten* 佛書解説大辭典. 15 vols. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1964-1988.
- Chishō daishi zenshū* 智証大師全集. 4 vols. Tokyo: Bussho Kankō Kai, 1917-1918.
- Daigoji taikan* 醍醐寺大觀. 3 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001-2002.
- Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. 100 vols. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1970-1973.
- Dai nihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録. 121 vols. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryō Hensanjo 1952-2008.
- Dai nihon komonjo* 大日本古文書. 147 vols (in 22 sections). Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryō Hensanjo, 1901-
- Dai nihon shiryō* 大日本史料. 400 vols. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryō Hensanjo, 1901-
- Dengyō daishi zenshū* 伝教大師全集. 5 vols. Tokyo: Tendai Shū Shūten Kankōkai, 1912.
- Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従. 31 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1960-1977.
- Kajūji zenbon eiin shūsei* 勧修寺善本影印集成. 15 vols. Kōyasan: Shinnōin Gyōeibunko, 2000-2004.
- Kinmō butsuzō shūsei* 訓蒙佛像集成. 23 vols. Tokyo: Ōzora sha, 1998-2002.
- Kōbō daishi Kūkai zenshū* 弘法大師空海全集. 8 vols. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1983-1986.
- Mikkyō dai jiten* 密教大辞典. 6 vols. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1968-1970.
- Mikkyō jiten* 密教辞典. 1 vol. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1975.
- Mochizuki bukkyō dai jiten* 望月仏教大辞典. 10 vols. Kyoto: Sekai Shōten Kankō Kyōkai, 1954-1963.
- Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* 日本歴史地名大系. 48 vols. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1981-2003.
- Nihon Tendai shū nenpyō* 日本天台宗年表. 1 vol. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō, 1973.
- Shinbi taikan* 真美大觀. Vols. 1899-1908.
- Shingon shū nenpyō* 真言宗年表. 1 vol. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1973.
- Shōhen wajō zenshū* 照遍和尚全集. 6 vols. Ōsaka: Shōhen wajō zenshū kankōkai, 1930-1932.
- Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大蔵経. 84 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankōkai, 1924-1931.

*Tennō kōzoku jitsuroku* 天皇皇族実録. 135 vols. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2005-2010.  
*Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従. 86 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1960-1988.  
*Zoku zoku gunsho ruijū* 続々群書類従. 17 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai  
*Zuzō shūsei* 図像蒐成. 13 vols. Tokyo: Bukkyō Bijutsu Kenkyū Ueno Kinen Zaidan Josei Kenkyū Kai, 1993-2017.

## Exhibition and Other Catalogues

---

*Art Through a Lifetime: The Mary Griggs Burke Collection* 2013. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation  
*Chiba ken no bunkazai* 千葉県の文化財 1990. Chiba: Chiba ken Kyōiku Iinkai  
*Daigoji ten* 醍醐寺展 1998. Kyōto: Daigoji  
*Daigoji no subete* 醍醐寺のすべて 2014. Nara: NNM  
*Samantabhadra no kaiga* 普賢菩薩の絵画 2004. Nara: Yamato Bunkakan  
*Fukko Yamatoe shi Tamechika* 復古大和絵師為恭 2005. Nara: Yamato Bunkakan  
*Herbstwind in den Kiefern: Japanische Kunst der Sammlung Langen* 1998. München, London, New York: Prestel  
*Ibaraki no bukkyō bijutsu* 茨城の仏教美術 1995. Ibaraki: Ibaraki Kenritsu Rekishikan  
*Kōchi ken no bunkazai* 高知県の文化財 1969. Kōchi: Kōchi ken Kyōiku Iinkai  
*Kōchi shi no bunkazai* 高知市の文化財 1992. Kōchi: Kōchi ken Kyōiku Iinkai  
*Kokuho-Jūyō bunkazai bukkyō bijutsu* 国宝・重要文化財仏教美術四国二 1984 (1974). Vol. 3. Tokyo: Shōgakusan  
*Kōyasan no bosatsu zō* 高野山の菩薩像 1995. Kōyasan: Kōyasan Reihōkan  
*Kūkai to Kōyasan* 空海と高野山 2003. Kyoto: Benridō  
*Langen fusai no me* ランゲン夫妻の眼 1999. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha  
*Mihotoke no gunzō – Tōji no mandara zu ji no mandara zu* みほとけの群衆・東寺の曼荼羅図 1990 (2007 6th edition). Kyoto: Benridō  
*Ōchō to butsuga to girei* 王朝の仏画と儀礼 1998. Kyoto: KNM  
*Ofuda: Images gravées des temples du Japon – La collection Bernard Frank* 2011. Paris: Collège de France Institut des Hautes Études Japonaises  
*Onomichi Jōdoji no jihō ten* 尾道・浄土寺の寺宝展 2015. Hiroshima: Hiroshima Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan

- Saga ken no bunkazai* 佐賀県の文化財 1978. Kumamoto: Seichōsha, Saga ken Kyōiku Inkai
- Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu* 東寺観智院の歴史と美術 2003.
- Tōji meihō shū* 東寺名宝集 1934.
- Tōji no bosatsu zō* 東寺の菩薩像 1992. Kyōto: Tōji Hōmotsukan
- Yamato e tokubetsu chinretsu mokuroku* 京都帝室博物館大和絵特別陳列目録 1909. Kyoto, Kyōto Teishitsu Hakubutsukan

## Primary Sources

---

- Anjōji shizaichō* 安祥寺資材帳, Eun 恵運, DNBZ 633, vol. 83: 301-309.
- Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄, Shōchō 承澄, TZ Vol. 8-9. / DNBZ 432, vols. 57-60.
- Atsuzōshi* 厚造紙, Genkai 元海, T 2483, vol. 78: 258-288.
- Besson zakki* 別尊雜記, Shingaku 心覚, TZ vol. 3: 57-674.
- Betsugyō* 別行, Kanjo 寛助, T 2476, vol. 78: 125-186.
- Bussetsu issai nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō* 仏説一切如来金剛寿命陀羅尼經, T 1135, vol. 20: 578.
- Bussetsu issai sho nyoraishin kōmyō kaji Samantabhadra enmei kongō saishō darani kyō* 仏説一切諸如来心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經, T 1136, vol. 20: 579-580.
- Byakuhō kushō* 白宝口抄, TZ vols. 5-6.
- Byakuhōshō* 白宝抄, Chōen 澄円, TZ vol. 10: 1-1216.
- Chōshūki* 長秋記, Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時, Shiryō taisei 史料大成, vols. 6-7.
- Chūyūki* 中右記, Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠, Shiryō taisei 史料大成, vols. 8-14.
- Daigoji monjo* 醍醐寺文書, DNS 19/vols. 1-16.
- Daizong zhao zeng sikong da bianzheng guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji*, 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集, Yuanzhao 円照, T 2120, vol. 52: 826-860.
- Da Tang gudade zeng sikong dabian zheng guangzhi bukong sanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故大德贈司空大辯正廣智不空三藏行狀, Zhanqian 趙遷, T 2056, vol. 50: 292-294.
- Da Tang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元統開元釈教錄, Yuanzhao 円照, T 2156, vol. 55: 748-770.
- Denjushū* 伝受集, T 2482, vol. 78: 224-258.
- Denryaku* 殿曆, Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実, DNKK, vol. 12/1-5.

*Eun risshi sho mokuroku* 惠運律師書目錄, Eun 惠運, T 2168B, vol. 55: 1089-1092.  
*Eun zenshi shōrai kyōbō mokuroku* 惠運禪師將來教法目錄, Eun 惠運, T 2168A, vol. 55: 1087-1089.  
*Fugen Enmeihō nikki* 普賢延命法日記, ZGR 26/上: 1-21.  
*Genpishō* 玄秘鈔, Jitsuun 実運, T 2486, vol. 78: 376-414.  
*Gien jugō nikki* 義演准后日記, Gien 義演, Shiryō sanshū 史料纂集 48, 65, 71, 145.  
*Gojisō shidai* 護持僧次第, ZGR 4/上: 399-408.  
*Gonijō Moromichi ki* 後二条師通記, Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通,  
*Goshōrai mokuroku* 御請來目錄, Kūkai 空海, T 2161, vol. 55: 1060-1066.  
*Heihanki* 兵範記, Taira no Nobunori 平信範, Shiryō taisei 史料大成 15-18.  
*Henkushō* 遍口鈔, Seigen 成賢, T 2496, vol. 78: 691-702.  
*Hishō* 秘鈔, Shōken 勝賢, Shukaku 守覺, T 2489, vol. 78: 483-583.  
*Hishō mondō* 秘鈔問答, Raiyu 頼瑜, T 2536, vol. 79: 301-590.  
*Hizō konpōshō* 秘藏金法鈔, Jitsuun 実運, T 2485, vol. 78: 339-375.  
*Jikkishō* 実帰鈔, Jinken 深賢, T 2497, vol. 78: 702-717.  
*Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, Zhisheng 智昇, T 2154, vol. 55: 477-723.  
*Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔, Kakuzen 覺禪, TZ vols. 4-5. / DNBZ 431, vols. 53-56.  
*Kanshinji kanroku engi shizaichō* 觀心寺勘錄緣起資材帳, Kanchi 觀智 et al, DNBZ 753, vol. 85: 282-287.  
*Kenkyū ninen Fugen Enmeihō nikki* 建久二年普賢延命法日記, ZGR 26/上: 22-35.  
*Kennaiki* 建內記, Madenokōji Tokifusa 万里小路時, DNKK, vol. 14/1-10.  
*Kenpō gonen Fugen Enmeihō nikki* 建保五年普賢延命法日記, ZGR 26/上: 35-43.  
*Kongō jumyō darani kyō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經, T 1134B, vol. 20: 577-578.  
*Kongō jumyō darani kyō hō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼經法, T 1134A, vol. 20: 576-577.  
*Kongō jumyō darani nenju hō* 金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦經, T 1133, vol. 20: 575-576.  
*Kōshinshō* 幸心鈔, Kenjin 憲深, T 2498, vol. 78: 717-753.  
*Mansai jugō nikki* 滿濟准后日記, Mansai 滿濟, ZGR 補遺 1  
*Midō kanpakuki* 御堂閔白記, Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長, DNKK, vol. 1/1-3.  
*Monyōki* 門葉記, TZ vol.11-12.  
*Nittō shingu shōkyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄, Ennin 円仁, T 2167, vol. 55: 1078-1087.  
*Okanoya kanpakuki* 岡屋閔白記, Konoe Kanetsune 近衛兼經, DNKK, vol. 18.  
*Ono Anjōji ryūdenju mokuroku* 小野安祥寺流伝受目錄, DNBZ 891, vol. 96: 73-90.

- Osan buruiki* 御産部類記, Zusho ryōsōkan 圖書寮叢刊, vols. 44-45.
- Osan oinori mokuroku* 御産御祈目録, ZGR 33/2: 472-505.
- Osan oinori mokuroku (Kangen irai)* 御産御祈目録(寛元以来), GR 29: 664-673.
- Santō shoji engi* 三塔諸寺縁起, DNBZ 784, vol. 86: 27-36.
- Shijū jōketsu* 四十帖決, Chōen 長宴, T 2408, vol. 75: 825-960.
- Shikan* 四卷, Kōzen (Kōnen) 興然, T 2500, vol. 78: 769-828.
- Shikashō zuzō* 四家鈔図像, TZ vol. 3: 749-915.
- Shiku* 師口, Einen 栄然, T 2501, vol. 78: 829-878.
- Shin shosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku* 新書寫請来法門等目録, Shūei 宗叡, T 2174A, vol. 55: 1108-1111.
- Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨真言密教部類總録, An'nen 安然, T 2176, vol. 55: 1113-1132.
- Shobutsu jūe daranikyō* 諸仏集会陀羅尼經, tr. Devaprajñā 提雲般若, T 1346, vol. 21: 858-859.
- Shōgoshū* 勝語集, Ejū 恵什, T 2479, vol. 78: 209-219.
- Shoson yōshō* 諸尊要抄, Jitsuun 実運, T 2484, vol. 78: 289-338.
- Shoson zuzō* 諸尊図像, Shingaku 心覚 (?), TZ vol. 3: 675-748.
- Shōyūki* 小右記, Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資, Shiryō taisei 史料大成, vols. 1-3.
- Takushō* 沢鈔, Kakuzei 覚成, Shukaku 守覚, T 2488, vol. 78: 423-482.
- Teishinkōki* 貞信公記, Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平, DNKK, vol. 8.
- Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釈教目録, Yuanzhao 円照, T 2157, vol. 55: 771-1048.
- Usuzōshi shojū* 薄双紙初重, Seigen 成賢, T 2495, vol. 78: 620-690.
- Usuzōshi kuketsu* 薄草子口決, Raiyu 頼瑜, T 2535, vol. 79: 175-300.
- Yōsonbō* 要尊法, Yōgon 永嚴, T 2478, vol. 78: 192-209.
- Zuzōshō* 図像抄, Yōgon 永嚴 / Ejū 恵什, TZ vol. 3: 1-56.

## Secondary Bibliography

---

- Abe Ryūichi 阿部龍一 1995. "Saichō and Kūkai: A Conflict of Interpretations." In: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* Vol. 22, No. 1-2, pp. 103-137.
- 1999. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press

- Anderson, W. 1886. *Description and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*. London: Longmans & Co.
- Andreeva, Anna 2014. "Childbirth in Aristocratic Households of Heian Japan." In: *Dynamis* Vol.34, No.2, pp. 357-376.
- Bandhyopadhyay, Bimal 2004. *Buddhist Centres of Orissa: Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri*. New Delhi: Sandeep Prakashan
- Barnes, Nancy J. 2012. "Rituals, Religious Communities, and Buddhist Sūtras in India and China." In: John R. McRae and Jan Nattier (eds.) *Buddhism Across Boundaries: The Interplay of Indian, Chinese, and Central Asian Source Materials, Sino-Platonic Papers* No. 222, pp. 212-225.
- Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh 1958. *Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Calcutta: Firma K.L.Mukhopadhyay
- Bogel, Cynthia J. 2010a. *With a Single Glance. Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyo Vision*. Seattle: University of Washington Press
- 2010b. "Contemplations and Imagery: Issues Relevant to Ancient Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Icons, Ritual Practice, and Cultural Contexts." In: *Pacific World* No.12, pp. 191-222.
- Boon, James 1990. *Affinities and Extremes: Crisscrossing the Bittersweet Ethnology of East Indies History, Hindu-Balinese Culture, and Indo-European Allure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Brancaccio, Pia 2011. *The Buddhist Caves at Aurangabad: Transformations in Art and Religion*. Leiden: Brill
- Cahill, James 1983. "Types of Text-Object Relationships in Chinese Art." Keynote address for XXXI International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and Africa, Tokyo-Kyoto
- Chen, Jinhua 1997. *The Formation of Early Esoteric Buddhism in Japan: A Study of the Three Japanese Esoteric Apocrypha*. PhD Thesis. Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University
- 1998. "The Construction of Early Tendai Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō's Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Apocrypha Attributed to Śubhakarasiṃha." In: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 21-76.
- 2009. *Legend and Legitimation: The Formation of Tendai Esoteric Buddhism in Japan (Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol. 30, Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises)*. Louvain: Peeters Press
- Chou, Yi-Liang 1945. "Tantrism in China." In: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 8, No. 3/4, pp. 241-332.
- Collins, Charles Dillard 1988. *The Iconography and Ritual of Siva at Elephanta*. Albany: State University of New York Press
- Copp, Paul 2014. *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, New York: Columbia University Press
- Davidson, Ronald M. 1990. "An Introduction to the Standards of Scriptural Authenticity in Indian Buddhism." In: Buswell, Robert E. Jr. (ed.), *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 291-325.

- 2002. *Indian esoteric Buddhism: Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Colombia University Press
- Dolce, Lucia 2006. "Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the 'Esoteric': Taimitsu Hermeneutical and Ritual Practices." In: Teeuwen, Mark – Scheid, Bernard (eds.) *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 130-71.
- 2011a (with Shinya Mano). "Godai'in Annen." In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 768-775.
- 2011b. "Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School." In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 744-767.
- 2012. "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance." In: Keul, Istvan (ed.) *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter Publishers, pp. 329-364.
- Fan, Jinshi 2009. *The Art of Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang: A Journey into China's Buddhist Shrine*. Paramus: Homa & Sekey Books
- Fischer, Felice 1991. "Japanese Buddhist Art." In: *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. 87, Nr. 369, pp. 3-27.
- Getty, Alice 1914. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism: Their History, Iconography and Progressive Evolution through the Northern Buddhist Countries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Giebel, Rolf W. 1995. "The Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei: An Annotated Translation." In: *Journal of Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies* No.18, pp. 107-201.
- Goble, Geoffrey 2016. "The Politics of Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra and the Tang State." In: Acri, Andrea (ed.) *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, pp. 123-139.
- Graham, Patricia, J. 2005. *Faith and power in Japanese Buddhist art, 1600-2005*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press
- Gray, David B. – Overbey, Ryan Richard (eds.) 2016. *Tantric Traditions in Transmission and Translation*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Groner, Paul 2000. *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press
- Guth, Christine 1996. *Art of Edo japan: The Artist and the City 1615-1868*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Hamar Imre 2009. „Az ezoterikus buddhizmus története Kínában.” In: Hamar Imre – Salát Gergely (eds.) *Kínai történelem és kultúra – tanulmányok Ecsedy Ildikó emlékére*, Sinológiai Műhely 7. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, pp. 65-79.
- Hansen, Valerie 2012. *The Silk Road: Key papers*. Leiden, Boston: Global Oriental
- Harvey, Peter 1990. *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History, and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Hatsuzaki Shōjun 初崎正純 1966. „Enmeihō ni kan suru bukkyō kyōten no kenkyū 延命法に関する仏教經典の研究.” In: *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 225-229.
- 1968. „A Study of the Dhāraṇī in the Jani-tam.” In: *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 937-942.
- Hazama Jikō 1987. „The Characteristics of Japanese Tendai.” In: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 14, Nos. 2-3, pp. 101-112.
- Hidas Gergely 2014. “Two dhāraṇī prints in the Stein Collection at the British Museum.” In: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 77, pp.105-117.
- Himanshu Prabha Ray 1994. “Kanheri: The Archaeology of an Early Buddhist Pilgrimage Centre in Western India.” In: *World Archaeology*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Archaeology of Pilgrimage, pp. 35- 46.
- Hirakawa, Akira 1997. *Buddhist Chinese Sanskrit Dictionary* 仏教漢梵大辞典. Tokyo: Reiyukai
- Hodge, Stephen (tr.) 2003. *The Mahā-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya's commentary*. London: Routledge Curzon
- Hoffmann, Johann Joseph 1851. *Das Buddha-Pantheon von Nippon: Buts zō dsu i* 佛像圖彙. Archiv zu Beschreibung von Japan
- Hongō Kazuto 本郷和人 1998. „Mansai jugō nikki to muromachi bakufu 『満濟准后日記』と室町幕府.” In: Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦 (ed.) *Nikki ni chūsei wo yomu* 日記に中世を読む. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, pp. 221-242.
- Howard, Angela F. 1990. “Tang and Song Images of Guanyin.” In: *Orientalisms*, pp. 49-57.
- Howard, Angela F. – Song Li – Hung Wu – Hong Yang 2003. *Chinese Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Hucker, Charles O. 1985. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Taipei: Southern Materials Center Inc.
- Huntington, Susan L. – Huntington, John C. 1985. *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*. New York: Weatherhill
- Iyanaga, Nobumi 1985. „Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya.” In: Strickmann, Michel (ed.) *Tantric and Taoist Studies in honour of R. A. Stein*. 3. vols, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, XXII. Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, pp. 633-745.
- Jōjima Masayoshi 城島正祥 1954. “Hizen Ryūdenji no Kōshun zaimei Fugen Enmei bosatsu zō 肥前竜田寺の康俊在銘普賢延命菩薩像.” In: *Shiseki to bijutsu* 史迹と美術, Vol. 24, Nr. 2, pp. 104-106.
- Kakuzenshō Kenkyūkai* 覚禅鈔研究会 (ed.) 2004. *Kakuzenshō no kenkyū* 覚禅鈔の研究. Kōyasan: Shinnōin Gyōeibunko
- Kamikawa Michio 上川通夫 1990. “Accession Rituals and Buddhism in Medieval Japan.” In: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol.17, Nos.2-3, pp.243-280.
- Katsumata Shunkyo 勝又俊教 1970. *Mikkyō no nihonteki tenkai* 密教の日本的展開. Tokyo: Shunjūsha



- Kiyota Jakuun 清田寂雲 1979-80. “*Shittan ryakki no sakusha ni tsuite* 悉曇略記の作者について.” In: *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学佛教学研究 Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 83-87.
- Kiyota, Minoru 1978. *Shingon Buddhism: Theory and Practice*. Los Angeles/Tokyo: Buddhist Books International
- 2000. “Shingon Mikkyo Buddhism: Its Concept of Tathata and Problematics Concerning Dharmakaya Mahavairocana.” In: Narain, A. K. (ed.) *Studies in History of Buddhism*, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, pp.
- Kojima Bunpo 小島文保 – Asada Masahiro 浅田正博 – Watanabe Takao 渡辺隆生 1974 “Nihon Tendai kuden hōmon no kenkyū 日本天台口伝法門の研究.” In: *Bukkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 仏教文化研究所紀要, Vol.13, pp. 197-242.
- Kubo Tsugunari 久保継成 – Yuyama Akira 湯山明 2007. *The Lotus Sutra*. BDK English Tripitaka 13-1. Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research  
URL: [http://www.bdk.or.jp/document/dgtl-dl/dBET\\_T0262\\_LotusSutra\\_2007.pdf](http://www.bdk.or.jp/document/dgtl-dl/dBET_T0262_LotusSutra_2007.pdf)
- Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 1975. *Nihon chūsei no kokka to shūkyō* 日本中世の国家と宗教. Tokyo: Iwanami Shobō
- Lancaster, Lewis 1979. “Buddhist Literature: Its Canons, Scribes, and Editors.” In: O’Flaherty, Wendy Doniger (ed.) *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, Graduate Theological Union, pp.215-229.
- 1991. “Ganesha in China: Methods of Transforming the Demonic.” In: Brown, Robert L. (ed.) *Ganesh. Studies of an Asian God*, State University of New York Press, pp. 277-286.
- 2012. “The Movement of Buddhist Texts from India to China and the Construction of the Chinese Buddhist Canon.” In: McRae, John R. – Nattier, Jan (eds.) *Buddhism Across Boundaries: The Interplay of Indian, Chinese, and Central Asian Source Materials, Sino-Platonic Papers*, No. 222, pp. 226-238.
- Leese, Marilyn 1983. *The Traikutaka dynasty and Kanheri's second phase of Buddhist cave excavation*. Doctoral Dissertation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan
- Lehnert, Martin 2011. “Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism.” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 351-359.
- Linrothe, Rob 1999. *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art*. London: Serindia Publications
- Lokesh Chandra 1971. *The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Mandalas*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture
- 1977-1978. „The Iconography of Umā and Mahēśvara in Japanese Art.” In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* No. 58/59, pp. 733-744.
- (ed.) 1981. *Sanskrit-Japanese Dictionary of Dharanis*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture
- Lokesh Chandra – Rani, Sharada (eds.) 1978. *Mudras in Japan: Symbolic Hand-Postures in Japanese Mantrayāna or the Esoteric Buddhism of the Shingon Denomination*. New Delhi: Jayyed Press

- Lokesh Chandra – Snellgrove, David L. 1981. *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha*. Facsimile Reproduction of a Tenth Century Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal, New Delhi
- Lokesh Chandra – Sharma, Nirmala 2012. *Buddhist paintings of Tun-Huang in the National Museum*, New Delhi: Niyogi Books
- Maki Nobuyuki 牧伸行 1994. „Tōdaiji sō Angan to Heiei 東大寺僧安寛と平栄.” In: *Bukkyō daigaku daigakuin kiyō* 佛教大學大學院紀要 No. 22, pp. 22-47.
- Malandra, Geri Hockfeld 1993. *Unfolding a Mandala: The Buddhist Cave Temples at Ellora*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- 1996. “The Mandala at Ellora / Ellora in the Mandala.” In: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 19, No 2, pp. 181-208.
- Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照 1969. “Shinkaku to Besson zakki ni tsuite 心覚と別尊雜記について.” In: *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 No. 70, pp. 67-100.
- Matsumoto Eiichi 松本榮一 1937. *Tonkōga no kenkyū* 燉煌畫の研究. Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tōkyō Kenkyūjo
- Matsumoto Ikuyo 松本郁代 2008. „Chūgū osan to mikkyō: ’Hōhiki’ Sonshōō hō mishihō wo megutte 中宮御産と密教—『宝秘記』尊星王法御修法をめぐって.” In: *Yokohama Shiritsu Daigaku 2009 nendo kenkyū seika hōkokusho* 横浜市立大学 2009 年度研究成果報告書, pp. 81-88.
- 2010. “Nanbokuchō jidai ni okeru Miyo hajime sandan hō to Sokui kanjō: Taimitsu no tennō goji to sono shisōteki eii 南北朝時代における代始三壇法と即位灌頂--台密の天皇護持とその思想的営為.” In: *Yokohama shiritsu daigaku ronsō* 横浜市立大学論叢, Vol. 61, No. 3, pp. 263-300.
- Matsumoto Moritaka 1993. “The Iconography of Shaka’s Sermon on the Vulture Peak and Its Art Historical Meaning,” *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 53, No. 3/4, pp. 358-411.
- Matsunaga Yūkei 1969. „Tantric Buddhism and Shingon Buddhism.” In: *The Eastern Buddhist* (New Series) Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 1-14.
- McBride, Richard D. 2004. “Is there really ‘Esoteric’ Buddhism?” In: *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 329-356.
- Meunié, Jacques 1942. *Shotorak. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*. Paris: Les Éditions d’Art et d’Histoire
- Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周 1988. *Taimitsu no kenkyū* 台密の研究. Tokyo: Sōbunsha
- Mitsubishi Tadashi 三橋正 2000. *Heian jidai no shinkō to shūkyō girei* 平安時代の信仰と宗教儀礼. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai
- Mizuno Seiichi 水野清一 – Nagahiro Toshio 長廣敏雄 1953. *Unkō sekkutsu: Seireki goseiki ni okeru Chūgoku hokubu bukkyō kutsuin no kōkogakuteki chōsa hōkoku: Tōhō bunka kenkyūjo chōsa Shōwa 13 nen ~Shōwa 20 nen* 雲岡石窟: 西暦五世紀における中國北部佛教窟院の考古學的調査報告: 東方文化研究所調査 昭和十三年~昭和二十年. Vol. 3. Dai roku dō: Zuhān dai ichi bu 第六洞 図版第一部. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Jinbungaku Kenkyūjo Unkō Kankōkai
- Monier-Williams, Monier 1976. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass

- Murase, Mieko (et al.) 2013. *Art through a Lifetime: The Mary Griggs Burke Collection*. New York: Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation
- Müller, F. Max – Nanjio Bunyiu 1884 (1972). *The Ancient Palm Leaves Containing the Pragna-paramita-hridaya-sūtra and the Ushnisha-vigaya-dharani* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Texts, Documents, and Extracts Chiefly from Manuscripts in the Bodleian and Other Oxford Libraries, Aryan Series, Vol.1, Part 3), Oxford: The Clarendon Press (Amsterdam: Oriental Press)
- Nakamura Hajime 1980. *Indian Buddhism. A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publ.
- Nakano Genzō 中野玄三 1969a. “Kakuzen den no sho mondai 覚禅伝の諸問題.” In: *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 No. 70, pp. 162-171.
- 1969b. “Kakuzen nenpyō 覚禅年表.” In: *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 No. 70, pp. 150-161.
- 1969c. “Kakuzenshō no mikōkan zuzō 覚禅抄の未公刊図像.” In: *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 No. 70, pp. 140-149.
- 1982. *Nihon bukkō kaiga kenkyū* 日本仏教絵画研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan
- 2004. “Kakuzenshō no denpa to Kajūji bon no seiritsu 覚禅抄の伝播と勧修寺本の成立.” In: *Kakuzenshō Kenkyūkai* 覚禅抄研究会 (ed.) *Kakuzenshō no kenkyū* 覚禅抄の研究, Kōyasan: Shinnōin Gyōeibunko
- 2008. *Zoku zoku nihon bukkō bijutsushi kenkyū* 続々日本仏教美術史研究. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan
- Nanjio Bunyiu 1883. *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Neville, Tove E. 1999. *Eleven-Headed Avalokitesvara: Chenresigs, Kuan-yin or Kannon Bodhisattva: Its Origin and Iconography*. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers
- Okabe Kazuo 1980. “The Chinese Catalogues of Buddhist Scriptures.” In: *Komazawa daigaku bukkō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要 Vol. 38, pp. 1-13.
- Okimatsu Kenjirō 沖松健次郎 1997. “Tsuchiura Jinryūji zō Fugen Enmei bosatsu gazō ni tsuite 土浦神竜寺蔵普賢延命菩薩画像について.” In: *Geisō* 藝叢, No. 14, pp. 59-76.
- Ōkubo Ryōjun 大久保良順 1969. “Tendai kuden hōmon to mikkyō 天台口伝法門と密教.” In: *Indogaku bukkōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究, Vol.18, No.1, pp. 1-7.
- Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 1972. *Mikkyō hattatsu shi* 密教発達志. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai
- Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年 1964-1969. *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū* 入唐求法巡礼行記の研究. 4 vols. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan
- Orlando, Raffaello 1981. *A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Fukū (A.D. 705-774)*. PhD dissertation. Princeton University
- Orzech, Charles D. 1998. *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the creation of Chinese Buddhism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press

- 2011a. “Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: From Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra (651-780).” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 263-285.
- 2011b. “Vajrabodhi (671-741).” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 345-350.
- 2011c. “Esoteric Buddhism Under the Song: An Overview.” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 421-430.
- 2015. “Ritual Subjects: Homa in Chinese Translations and Manuals from the Sixth through eighth Centuries.” In: Payne, Richard K. – Witzel, Michael (eds.) *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change across the Longue Durée*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.) 2011. *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill
- Osabe, Kazuo 長部和雄 1990. *Tōdai mikkyō shi zakkō* 唐代密教史雑考. Tokyo: Hokushindō
- Ōtani Yoshihiro 大谷欣裕 2015. “Den Ryōgen sen Kongō jumyō darani kyō shō ni okeruenmei shisō no kōsatsu 伝良源撰『金剛寿命陀羅尼經疏』における延命思想の考察.” In: *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究, No. 71, pp. 165-196.
- Panofsky, Erwin 1955. “Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art.” In: *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books
- Payne, Richard K. – Orzech, Charles D. 2011. “Homa.” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 133-140.
- Payne, Richard K. – Witzel, Michael (eds.) 2015. *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change across the Longue Durée*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Pinte, Klaus 2011. “Śubhākarasiṃha (637-735).” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 339-341.
- Puri, B.N. 2015. *Buddhism in Central Asia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publ.
- Rambelli, Fabio 1994. “True Words, Silence, and the Adamantine Dance. On Japanese Mikkyō and the Formation of the Shingon Discourse.” In: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 373-405.
- Réau, Louis 1955. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien: Introduction générale*. Paris: Presses univ. de France
- Reischauer, Edwin O. 1955a. *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*. New York: Ronald Press
- 1955b. *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*. New York: Ronald Press
- Rhie, Marilyn M. 2002. *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill

- Saitō Enshin 齊藤圓眞 2010. *Tokai Tendai sō no shi kenkyū* 渡海天台僧の史的研究. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin
- Saso, Michael 1987. “Kuden: The Oral Hermeneutics of Tendai Tantric Buddhism.” In: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 14, Nos. 2-3, pp. 235-246.
- Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研 1950. “Heian-chō jidai ni yunyū saretā bukkyō kaiga 平安朝時代に輸入された仏教絵画.” In: *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術, Vol. 6, pp. 26-38.
- 1951. “Muromachi shoki no Fugen Enmei gazō to sono hissha – Takamasa, Yukitada, Yukihide 室町初期の普賢延命画像とその筆者 – 隆昌・行忠・行秀.” In: *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術, vol. 11, pp. 39-49.
- 1970. *Butsuzō zuten* 仏像図典. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan
- 1975. *Mikkyō jiten* 密教辞典. Kyoto: Hōzōkan
- 1978. *Zuiron mikkyō bijutsu* 髓論密教美術. Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha
- 1997. *Sawa Ryūken chosaku shū* 佐和隆研著作集. 2 vols. Kyoto: Hōzōkan
- Sen, Tansen 2003. *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade. The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600-1400*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press
- Sharf, Robert H. 2001. *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- 2002. *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press
- Shibata Kenryū 柴田賢龍 2002. *Yakuchū Usuzōshi kuketsu* 訳注薄草子口決. Kyoto: Bunseidō
- Shimizu Zenzō 清水善三 1969. “Kakuzenshō ni okeru kakukan no kōsei to sono seiritsu katei 覚禅抄における各巻の構成とその成立過程.” In: *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 No. 70, pp. 101-139.
- Shinohara, Koichi 2014. *Spells, Images and Mandalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Sinnet, A. P. 1883 (1<sup>st</sup> edition). *Esoteric Buddhism*. London: Trübner & Co.
- Skorupski, Tadeusz 2002. *Kriyāsaṃgraha. Compendium of Buddhist Rituals*. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies
- Snellgrove, David L. 1959. *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study*. London: Oxford University Press
- 1987. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston: Shambala Publications
- Snodgrass, Adrian 1985. *The Symbolism of the Stupa*. (2<sup>nd</sup> printing) Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University
- 1988. *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan
- Soejima Hiromichi 副島弘道 1992. Jūichimen kannonzō, Senju Kannonzō 十一面観音像・千手観音像. *Nihon no bijutsu*, No. 311

- Soothill, William Edward – Hodus, Lewis 2010. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. Digital version: Digital Archives Section, Library and Information Center of Dharma Drum Buddhist College 法鼓佛教學院圖書資訊館數位典藏組  
URL: <http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/glossaries>
- Soper, Alexander Coburn 1959. *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*. Ascona: Artibus Asiae
- Sørensen, Henrik H. 2011a. “Esoteric Buddhist Art up to the Tang.” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 255-260.
- 2011b. “On Esoteric Buddhism in China: A Working Definition.” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 155-175.
- 2011c. “The Apocrypha and Esoteric Buddhism in China.” In: Orzech, Charles D. – Payne, Richard K. – Sørensen, Henrik H. (eds.), *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 181-196.
- Spink, Walter M. 2007. *Ajanta: History and Development, Volume 5: Cave by Cave*. Leiden: Brill
- 2009. *Ajanta: History and Development, Volume 4: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture - Year by Year*. Leiden: Brill
- Strickmann, Michel 1990. “The Consecration Sūtra: A Buddhist Book of Spells.” In: Buswell, Robert E. Jr. (ed.), *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 75-118.
- Sundberg, Jeffrey 2016. “Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java: Lord Kumbhayoni and the ‘rag – wearer’ *pamsukūlika* monks of the Abhayagiri vihāra.” In: Acri, Andrea (ed), *Esoteric Buddhism in Maritime Asia. Networks of Masters, Texts, and Icons from the Bay of Bengal to the South China Sea*, Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, pp. 349 – 380.
- Sundberg, Jeffrey – Giebel, Rolf 2011. “Life of the Tang court monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lü Xiang 呂向.” In: *Pacific World*, Third series, No. 13, pp. 129-222.
- Szántó Péter-Dániel 2015. “Ritual Texts: South Asia.” In: Silk, Jonathan A. – von Hinüber, Oscar – Eltschinger, Vincent (eds.) *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Vol. I. Literature and Languages*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 655-661.
- Tachikawa Musashi 立川武蔵 – Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏 (eds.) 2000. *Nihon mikkyō 日本密教*. Tokyo: Shunjūsha
- Takagishi Akira 高岸輝 2004. *Muromachi ōken to kaiga: Shoki Tosa ha kenkyū 室町王権と絵画: 初期土佐派研究*. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai
- Takahashi Hisao 高橋尚夫 – Kimura Hideaki 木村秀明 – Noguchi Keiya 野口圭也 – Ōtsuka Nobuo 大塚伸夫 (eds.) 2013. *Shoki mikkyō 初期密教*. Tokyo: Shunjūsha
- Takami Kankyō 高見寛恭 1978. “Nittō hakke no mikkyō sōshō ni tsuite 入唐八家の密教相承について 1.” In: *Mikkyō bunka 密教文化*, No. 122, pp. 1-8.
- 1979. “Nittō hakke no mikkyō sōshō ni tsuite 入唐八家の密教相承について 2.” In: *Mikkyō bunka 密教文化*, No. 126, pp. 1-16.

- 1980. “Nittō hakke no mikkyō sōshō ni tsuite 入唐八家の密教相承について 3.”  
In: *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化, No. 130, pp. 26-41.
- Takasaki Fujihiko 高崎富士彦 et al. 1976. *Kokuhō Fugen Enmei bosatsu zō (Jikōji)* 国宝  
普賢延命菩薩像(持光寺).
- Takasu Akira 鷹巢晃 1980. “Miyo hajime sandan hō to sono honzonga wo meguru ni, san  
no mondai: Nanbokuchō, Muromachi shoki wo chūshin ni 御代始三壇法とその本  
尊画をめぐる二,三の問題--南北朝・室町初期を中心に.” In: *Kobijutsu* 古美術,  
No. 57, pp. 42-53.
- Tamura Ryūshō 田村隆照 1969. “Zuzōshō: Seiritsu to naiyō ni kan suru mondai 図像抄=  
成立と内容に関する問題.” In: *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 No. 70, pp. 42-66.
- ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth 1999. *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*.  
Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press
- Tobe Ryūkichi 戸部隆吉 1920. “Genshō ajari to sono zuzō 玄証阿闍梨と其の図像.” In:  
*Mikkyō kenkyū* 密教研究 Vol. 4, pp. 59-70.
- Toganoo Shōun 桐尾祥雲 1927. *Mandara no Kenkyū* 曼荼羅の研究. Kōyasan: Kōyasan  
Daigaku Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo
- Tsiang, Katherine R. 2010. “Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth-Tenth  
Centuries: Typologies of Replication and Representation.” In Kapstein, Matthew T. –  
Van Schaik, Sam (eds.) *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for this  
Life and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 201-252.
- Ueda Reijō 上田霊城 1989. *Shingon mikkyō jisō gaisetsu: Shin anryū wo chūshin toshite*  
真言密教事相概説 : 新安流を中心として. 3 vols. Kyōto: Dōhōsha
- Uekawa Michio 上川通夫 2008. “Nyohō sonshō hō shōkyō no seisei 如法尊勝法聖教の  
生成.” In: Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 (ed.) *Nihon ni okeru shūkyō tekisuto no shoisō to  
tōjihō* 日本における宗教テキストの諸位相と統辞法. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku  
Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka
- Unknown 1911. The Bigelow Gift. In: *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Vol. 9, Nr. 53, pp. 48-  
50.
- van Gulik, Robert H. 1935. *Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of the Horse-cult in China  
and Japan*. Leiden: E. J. Brill
- W, L. 1911. The Weld Bequest: Paintings. *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Vol. 9, Nr. 52, pp.  
33-36.
- Waddell, L. Austine 1895. *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*. London: W.H. Allen & Co.
- Weinstein, Stanley 1974. “The Beginnings of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan: The Neglected  
Tendai Tradition.” In: *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 177–191.
- Wenjie, Duan – Chung, Tan (tr.) 1994. *Dunhuang Art Through the Eyes of Duan Wenjie*.  
New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts
- Whitfield, Roderick 1995. *Dunhuang, Caves of the Singing Sands: Buddhist Art from the  
Silk Road*. London: Textile & Art Publications
- Wilkinson, Greg 2014. “Taishō Canon: Devotion, Scholarship, and Nationalism in the  
Creation of the Modern Buddhist Canon in Japan.” In: Wu, Jiang – Chia, Lucille (eds.),

- Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia*, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 284-310.
- Williams, Paul 2009. *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*. London: Routledge.
- Williams, Paul – Tribe, Anthony 2000. *Buddhist Thought. A complete introduction to the Indian tradition*, London and New York: Routledge
- Winfield, Pamela D. 2013. *Icons and Iconoclasm in Japanese Buddhism: Kūkai and Dōgen on the Art of Enlightenment*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Wong, Dorothy C. 2007. “Guanyin Images in Medieval China, 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Centuries.” In: Magee, William – Huang, Yi-hsun (eds.), *Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin) and Modern Society*. Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, pp. 255-302.
- 2008a. “Reassessing the Wall Paintings of Hōryūji.” In: Wong, Dorothy – Field, Eric M. (eds.) *Hōryūji Reconsidered*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 131-198.
- 2008b. “Early Transmission of Esoteric Images from China to Japan in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries.” In: *Huaxue*, Nr. 9, pp. 1696-1719.
- 2008c. “The Case of Amoghapaśa.” In: *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, No. 2/2007, pp. 151-158.
- Wood, Donald Alan 1985. *Eleven Faces of the Bodhisattva*. PhD Dissertation. University of Kansas
- Wu, Jiang – Chia, Lucille 2014. *Spreading Buddha's word in East Asia*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Yajima Arata 矢島新 1987. “Jikōji zō Fugen Enmei gazō shōron 持光寺蔵普賢延命畫像小論.” *Kokka* 国華, Nr. 1099, pp. 11-30.
- Yamamoto Tsutomu 山本勉 1992. „Samantabhadra zō 普賢菩薩像.” *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 No. 310.
- Yanagisawa Taka 1969. “Ninpei sannen mei no Jikōji zō Fugen Enmei bosatsu kaizō 仁平三年銘の持光寺蔵普賢延命菩薩絵像.” In: *Bijutsu kenkyū*, No. 254, pp. 1-25.
- 1982. “A Study of the Painting Style of the Ryokai Mandala at the Saiin, Tōji —With Special Emphasis on their Relationship to Late T'ang Painting.” In: *International Symposium on the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property-Interregional Influences in East Asian Art History*, Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, pp. 123-134.
- Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 – Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周 – Tokoro Shigemoto 戸頃重基 (eds.) 1977. *Mikkyō no rekishi* 密教の歴史. Tokyo: Shunjūsha
- Yu, Chun-fang 2001. *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Yun-hua, Jan 1966a. “Buddhist Relations between Indian and China.” In: *History of Religions*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 24-42.
- 1966b. “Buddhist Relations between Indian and China.” In: *History of Religions*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 135-168.



Zhiru 2007. *The making of a Savior Bodhisattva: Dizang in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press

## Digital Sources

---

*Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo* 東京大学史料編纂所

URL: <http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/index-j.html>

*Mary Griggs Burke Collection*

URL: <http://burkecollection.org>

*National Diet Library Digital Collection* 国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション

URL: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/>

# Plates

## List of Plates

---

- Plate 1. Painting (NT), Jikōji, Onomichi, Hiroshima  
Plate 2. Painting (NT), Matsunoodera, Maizuru, Kyoto  
Plate 3. Painting, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, US  
Plate 4. Drawing, Tōji Kanchiin, Kyoto  
Plate 5. Drawing, Daigoji, Kyoto  
Plate 6. Drawing, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, US  
Plate 7. Drawing, Owned by the Mutō family  
Plate 8. Painting (ICP), Daigoji, Kyoto  
Plate 9. Painting, Private collection, formerly owned by the Tōji, Kyoto  
Plate 10. Painting, Formerly in the collection of Takahashi Suteroku  
Plate 11. Painting (ICP), Nara National Museum, Nara  
Plate 12. Painting (ICP), Ryūjōin, Kōchi  
Plate 13. Painting (ICP), Shōchiin, Mt. Kōya, Wakayama  
Plate 14. Painting, Hosomi Bijutsu Zaidan, Osaka  
Plate 15. Painting (ICP), Enryakuji, Mt. Hiei, Shiga  
Plate 16. Painting, Ryūgeji, Yokohama, Kanazawa  
Plate 17. Painting, Chōtokuji, Sōsa, Chiba  
Plate 18. Painting, Daijionji, Narita, Chiba  
Plate 19. Drawing, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis, US  
Plate 20. Painting, Keishōji, Matsuzaka, Mie  
Plate 21. Painting, Jinryūji, Tsuchiura, Ibaraki  
Plate 22. Painting, Ninnaji, Kyoto  
Plate 23. Painting, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, US  
Plate 24. Painting, Langen Foundation, Neuss, Germany  
Plate 25. Painting, Museum of Art, Philadelphia, US  
Plate 26. Painting, Jissōin, Saga, Kyūshū  
Plate 27. Painting, Enryakuji, Mt. Hiei, Shiga  
Plate 28. Painting, Tōji Kanchiin, Kyoto  
Plate 29. Painting, Tosa Hideyuki, Daigoji, Kyoto  
Plate 30. Painting, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, US

- Plate 31. Painting, Jōdoji, Onomichi, Hiroshima
- Plate 32. Painting, Daigoji, Kyoto
- Plate 33. Painting, Kyōōgokokuji (Tōji), Kyoto
- Plate 34. Painting, Entsūji, Kōyasan, Wakayama
- Plate 35. Painting, Hōfukuji, Kurobe, Toyama
- Plate 36. Painting, Kogirekai Auction 2015, Kyoto
- Plate 37. Painting, Enryakuji Seitōin, Mt. Hiei, Shiga
- Plate 38. Painting, Enryakuji Rengeji, Mt. Hiei, Shiga
- Plate 39. Painting, Reizei Tamechika, Enryakuji, Mt. Hiei, Shiga
- Plate 40. Painting, Kawana Rakusan, Tateyama Municipal Museum, Tateyama, Chiba
- Plate 41. Painting, The British Museum, London
- Plate 42. Woodblock print, Reiunji, Yushima, Tokyo
- Plate 43. Painting, Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France
- Plate 44. Painting, Kogirekai Auction 2016, Kyoto
- Plate 45. Painting, Kogirekai Auction 2016, Kyoto
- Plate 46. Painting, Enmei bosatsu, Daigoji (Sanpōin) temple, Kyoto
- Plate 47. Painting, Enmei bosatsu, Daigoji (Sanpōin) temple, Kyoto
- Plate 48. Painting, Enmei bosatsu, Daigoji (Sanpōin) temple, Kyoto
- Plate 49. Painting, Enmei bosatsu, Daigoji temple, Kyoto
- Plate 50. Painting, Enmei bosatsu, Daigoji (Rishōin) temple, Kyoto
- Plate 51. Painting, Enmei bosatsu, Daigoji (Matsuhashi Muryōjuin) temple, Kyoto
- Plate 52. Painting, Enmei bosatsu, Daigoji temple, Kyoto
- Plate 53. Painting, Enmei bosatsu, Daigoji temple, Kyoto
- Plate 54. Sculpture, Taisanji, Ōita, Kyūshū
- Plate 55. Sculpture, Kongōbuji, Mt. Kōya, Wakayama
- Plate 56. Sculpture, Hōryūji, Nara
- Plate 57. Sculpture, Fugenji, Hashimoto, Wakayama
- Plate 58. Sculpture, Jōkakuji, Nishiyoshinomura, Nara
- Plate 59. Sculpture, Chōgakuji, Tenri, Nara
- Plate 60. Sculpture, Ryūdenji, Saga, Kyūshū
- Plate 61. Sculpture, Kinshōji, Sendai, Miyagi
- Plate 62. Sculpture, Hōenji, Koori, Fukushima
- Plate 63. Sculpture, Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France
- Plate 64. Sculpture, The British Museum, London, UK
- Plate 65. Sculpture, Le Musée des Arts Asiatiques à la Villa Jules Verne, Toulon, France

Plate 66. Sculpture in *zushi*, Ferenc Hopp Museum for Eastern Asiatic Arts

Plate 67. Sculpture in *zushi*, Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France

Plate 68. Sculpture in *zushi*, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich, Germany

## Paintings and Drawings



**PLATE 1**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink, colours, and gold on silk

Size: 149.3 x 86.6 cm

Heian period, 1153

Jikōji, Onomichi, Hiroshima



**PLATE 2**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink, colours, gold, and silver on silk

Size: 139.4 x 67.0 cm

Heian period, 12<sup>th</sup> century

Matsunoodera, Maizuru, Kyoto





### PLATE 3

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink, colours, gold, and silver on silk

Size: 141.7 x 88.3 cm

Heian period, 12<sup>th</sup> century

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, US



### PLATE 4

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink on paper

Size: 53.9 x 27.6 cm

Heian period, 1178

Tōji Kanchiin, Kyoto



## PLATE 5

### Fugen Enmei bosatsu

Ink on paper

Size: 90.3 x 53.9 cm

Kamakura period, 1196

(copy of a drawing from 1169)

Daigoji, Kyoto



## PLATE 6

### Fugen Enmei bosatsu

Ink on paper

Size: 74.6 x 48.5 cm

Heian period, 1198

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, US





## PLATE 7

### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink on paper

Heian period?

Owned by the Mutō family



## PLATE 8

### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink, colours, and gold on silk

Size: 108.0 x 63.8 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup> century

Daigoji, Kyoto





#### PLATE 9

##### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink, colours, and gold on silk

Size: 106.6 x 61.5 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup> century

Private collection, formerly owned  
by the Tōji, Kyoto



#### PLATE 10

##### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink, colours, and gold on silk

Size: 93.3 x 55.7 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup> century?

Formerly in the collection of Takahashi  
Suteroku





# **PLATE 11**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink, colours, and gold on silk

Size: 91.3 x 42.2 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup> century

Nara National Museum, Nara



# **PLATE 12**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 107.0 x 56.2 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries

Ryūjōin, Kōchi



### PLATE 13

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 106.0 x 64.2 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries

Shōchiin, Mt. Kōya, Wakayama



### PLATE 14

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 99.6 x 56.0 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries

Hosomi Bijutsu Zaidan, Osaka





# **PLATE 15**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink, colours, and gold on silk

Size: 1265 x 72.6 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries

Enryakuji, Mt. Hiei, Shiga



# **PLATE 16**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 80.2 x 41.0 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries

Ryūgeji, Yokohama, Kanazawa



### PLATE 17

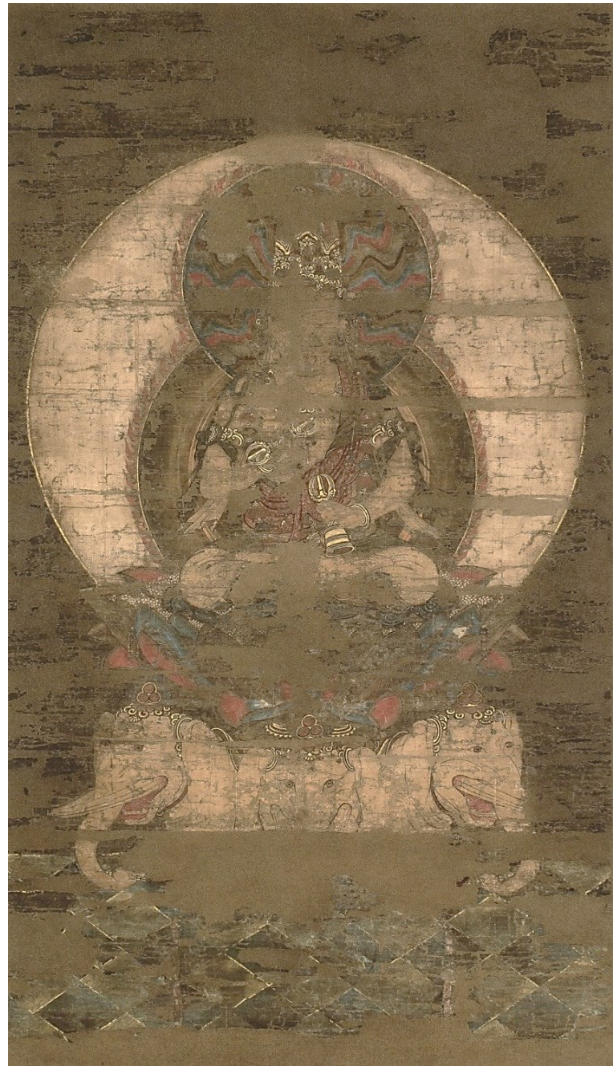
#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 135.0 x 60.0 cm

Kamakura period, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries

Chōtokuji, Sōsa, Chiba



### PLATE 18

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 94.3 x 53.6 cm

Kamakura period, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Daijionji, Narita, Chiba





# **PLATE 19**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on paper

Size: 40.0 x 24.1 cm

Kamakura period, 1322

Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis, US



# **PLATE 20**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 75.2 x 37.3 cm

Kamakura period, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Keishōji, Matsuzaka, Mie



# **PLATE 21**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 85.0 x 38.0 cm

Kamakura period, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Jinryūji, Tsuchiura, Ibaraki



# **PLATE 22**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

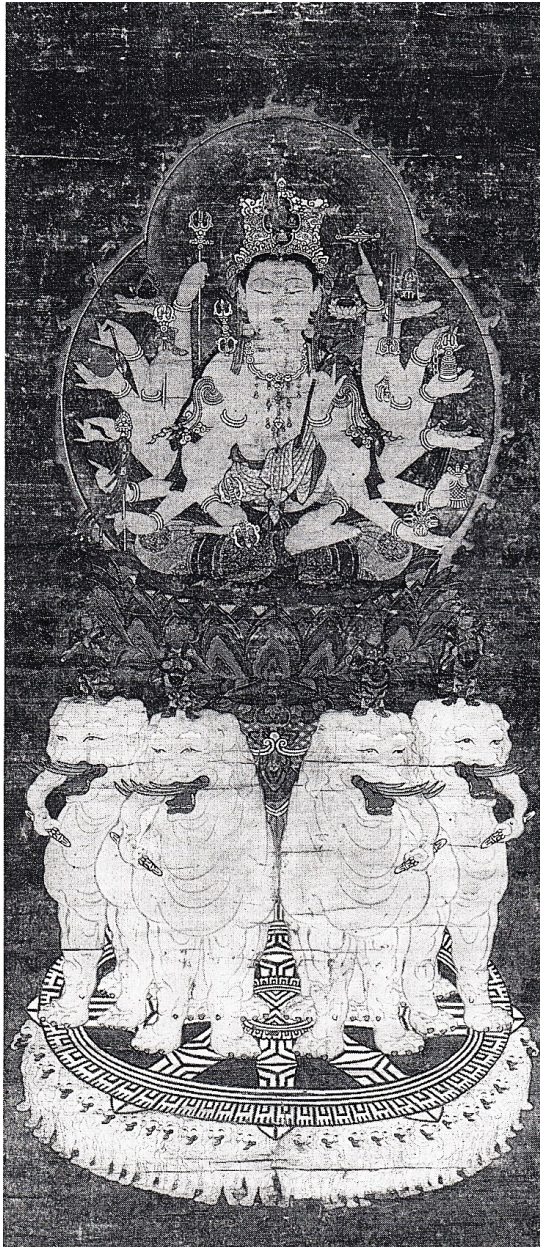
Ink and colours on silk

Size: 48.5 x 28.1 cm

Nanbokuchō period, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Ninnaji, Kyoto





**PLATE 23**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 84.8 x 36.8 cm

Muromachi period, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, US



**PLATE 24**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

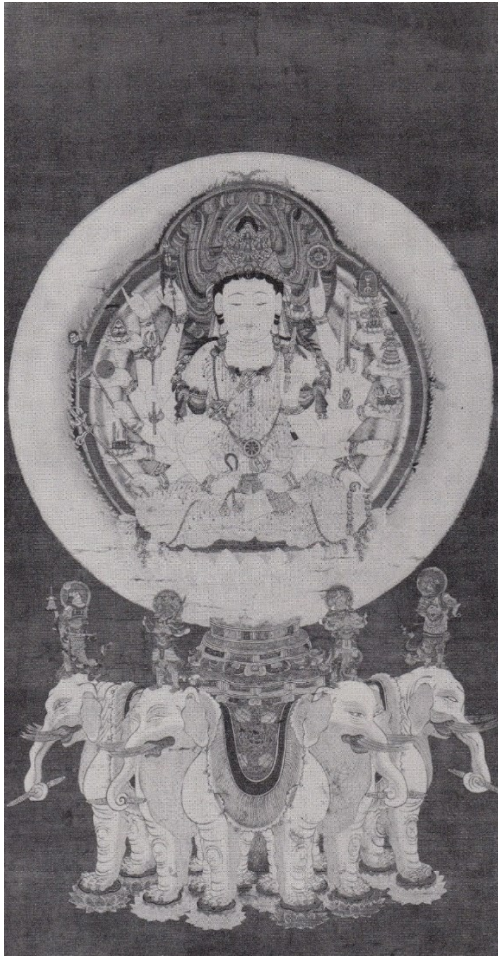
Ink and colours on silk

Size: 102.0 x 45.8 cm

Muromachi period, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Langen Foundation, Neuss, Germany





**PLATE 25**

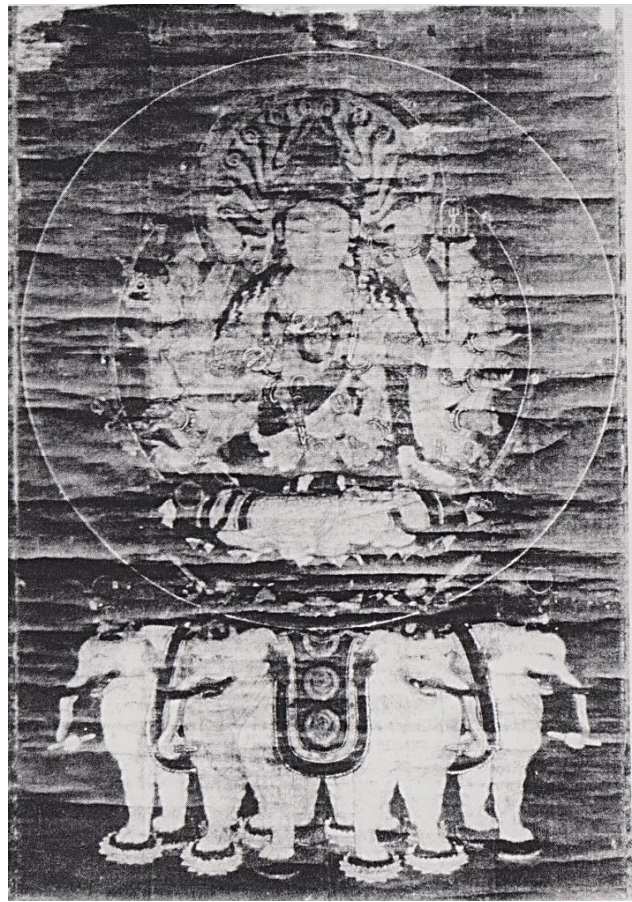
**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 102.2 x 55.2 cm

Muromachi period, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Museum of Art, Philadelphia, US



**PLATE 26**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 123.0 x 79.0 cm

Muromachi period, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Jissōin, Saga, Kyūshū



# PLATE 27

## Fugen Enmei bosatsu

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 85.5 x 37.7 cm

Muromachi period, 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century

Enryakuji, Mt. Hiei, Shiga



# PLATE 28

## Fugen Enmei bosatsu

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 94.6 x 42.4 cm

Muromachi period, 15<sup>th</sup> century

Tōji Kanchiin, Kyoto





# **PLATE 29**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 122.3 x 80.5 cm

Tosa Yukihide (d.u, active in the late 14<sup>th</sup>  
and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries)

Muromachi period, 1413

Daigoji, Kyoto



# **PLATE 30**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 87.8 x 40.6 cm

Muromachi period, 15<sup>th</sup> century

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, US



### PLATE 31

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 94.6 x 42.4 cm

Momoyama period, late 16<sup>th</sup> century

Jōdoji, Onomichi, Hiroshima



### PLATE 32

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 164.4 x 88.8 cm

Edo period, 1702

Daigoji, Kyoto





### PLATE 33

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 94.6 x 42.4 cm

Edo period

Kyōdōgokokuji (Tōji), Kyoto



### PLATE 34

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 99.0 x 40.0 cm

Edo period

Entsūji, Kōyasan, Wakayama





**PLATE 35**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Edo period

Hōfukuji, Kurobe, Toyama



**PLATE 36**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Edo period

Kogirekai Auction 2015, Kyoto



**PLATE 37**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 117.6 x 56.6 cm

Edo period

Enryakuji Seitōin, Mt. Hiei, Shiga



**PLATE 38**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 95.7 x 41.9 cm

Edo period

Enryakuji Rengeji, Mt. Hiei, Shiga





**PLATE 39**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 142.0 x 73.4 cm

Okada (Reizei) Tamechika (1823 – 1864)

Edo period, 1850-1855

Enryakuji, Mt. Hiei, Shiga



**PLATE 40**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 136.6 x 50.8 cm

Kawana Rakusan (1823 – 1864)

Edo period, 1860

Tateyama Municipal Museum,  
Tateyama, Chiba





**PLATE 41**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Gold paint on paper

Size: 107.0 x 42.2 cm

Edo period

The British Museum, London, UK (Acq. nr. 1881, 1210, 0.56.JA)



#### PLATE 42

##### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Colourful woodblock print

Edo period

Reiunji, Yushima, Tokyo



#### PLATE 43

##### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on paper

Size: 109.8 x 53.2 cm

Edo period

Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet,  
Paris, France





#### PLATE 44

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 86.0 x 35.0 cm

Edo period, 1815

Kogirekai Auction 2016, Kyoto



#### PLATE 45

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 90.0 x 32.0 cm

Edo period (19<sup>th</sup> century) or later

Kogirekai Auction 2016, Kyoto



**PLATE 46**

**Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 203.8 x 98.8 cm

Muromachi, 14<sup>th</sup> century

Daigoji (Sanpōin) temple, Kyoto



**PLATE 47**

**Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 192.2 x 72.6 cm

Muromachi period, 1416

Daigoji (Sanpōin) temple, Kyoto





**PLATE 48**

**Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 105.8 x 53.0 cm

Momoyama period, 16<sup>th</sup> century

Daigoji (Sanpōin) temple, Kyoto



# **PLATE 49**

## **Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 134.5 x 73.5 cm

Edo period, 1654

Daigoji temple, Kyoto



# **PLATE 50**

## **Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 140.5 x 84.2 cm

Edo period, 1671

Daigoji (Rishōin) temple, Kyoto





**PLATE 51**

**Enmei bosatsu**

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 132.5 x 74.8 cm

Edo period, 17<sup>th</sup> century

Daigoji (Matsuhashi Muryōjuin) temple, Kyoto





## PLATE 52

### Enmei bosatsu

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 99.8 x 44.5 cm

Sojun 素俊 (d.u.)

Edo period, 1740

Daigoji temple, Kyoto



## PLATE 53

### Enmei bosatsu

Ink and colours on silk

Size: 97.5 x 42.4 cm

Edo period, 1785

Daigoji temple, Kyoto

## Statues



### PLATE 54

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood

Size: 87.6 cm

Heian period, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries

Taisanji, Ōita, Kyūshū





**PLATE 55**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu (destroyed in fire in 1926)**

Wood

Size: 76 cm

Heian period, 11<sup>th</sup> century

Kongōbuji, Mt. Kōya, Wakayama



**PLATE 56**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood

Size: 51.8 cm

Heian period, 11<sup>th</sup> century

Hōryūji, Nara



**PLATE 57**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood

Size: 94.0 cm

Heian period, 12<sup>th</sup> century

Fugenji, Hashimoto, Wakayama



# **PLATE 58**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood

Size: 98.8 cm

Heian period, 12<sup>th</sup> century

Jōkakuji, Nishiyoshinomura, Nara (ICP)



# **PLATE 59**

## **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood and gold lacquer

Muromachi period

Chōgakuji, Tenri, Nara (ICP)





## PLATE 60

### Fugen Enmei bosatsu (ICP)

Wood and gold lacquer

Size: 78.2 cm

Kōshun (d.u, active in the 14<sup>th</sup> century)

Kamakura period, 1326

Ryūdenji, Saga, Kyūshū



## PLATE 61

### Fugen Enmei bosatsu

Wood and gold lacquer

Edo period

Kinshōji, Sendai, Miyagi



## PLATE 62

### Fugen Enmei bosatsu

Wood and gold lacquer

Edo period

Hōenji, Koori, Fukushima





**PLATE 63**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood and gold lacquer

Edo period

Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France



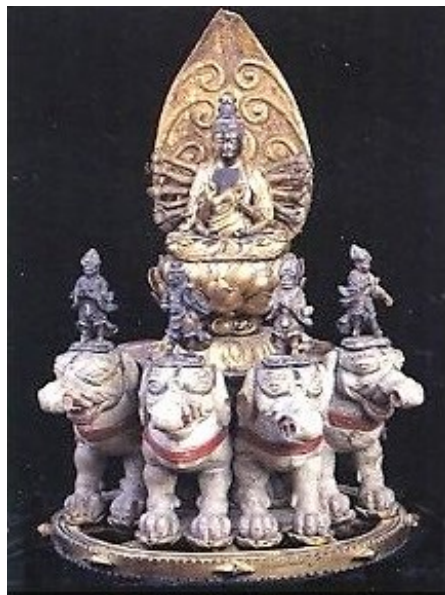
**PLATE 64**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood and gold lacquer

Edo period

The British Museum, London, UK (Acq. nr. 1925, 1016.1)



**PLATE 65**

**Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood and gold lacquer

Size: 52 cm

Edo period

Le Musée des Arts Asiatiques à la Villa Jules Verne, Toulon, France



### PLATE 66

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood and gold lacquer

Edo period

Ferenc Hopp Museum for Eastern  
Asiatic Arts (Acq. nr. 88.18),  
Budapest, Hungary



### PLATE 67

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood and gold lacquer

Edo period

Musée national des arts asiatiques –  
Guimet, Paris, France



### PLATE 68

#### **Fugen Enmei bosatsu**

Wood and gold lacquer

Size: 17 cm

Edo period

Museum Fünf Kontinente, Munich,  
Germany (Acq. nr. S906)